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# The German Tribune

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## Links between Bonn and Ottawa getting closer

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Even among allies charity begins at home, so Canadian Defence Minister Barney Danson's visit to Bonn and this country's Georg Leber's return visit to Ottawa in June are aimed at balancing the two countries' respective interests.

Canadian troops are stationed in this country and Bundeswehr troops use training facilities in Canada. These arrangements are felt by both sides to be a matter of course, although they need not necessarily remain a permanent feature of the defence landscape.

To assess future cooperation prospects it is doubtless a good idea to put ourselves in Canada's position as recently outlined to the writer in talks at the Defence Department in Ottawa.

Canada's defence problems can only really be appreciated by looking at the globe, on which Canada borders on the Soviet Union via the Arctic icecap.

By the same token, but viewed from the Soviet Union, Canada is an enormous thinly-populated outpost of the United States. It follows that Canada's northern defences have, ever since global strategy was inaugurated, served to defend North America as a whole.

In other words, the comradeship-in-arms of two World Wars had to be modified in the fifties in view of the threat of a strategic nuclear attack on North America.

Military cooperation with the United States began in 1940 when America was still a non-combatant, being launched unobtrusively but effectively.

Until 1958, when Canada officially joined Norad, the North American Air Command, which was set up the year before, there was not even a formal agreement between the two countries on defence cooperation.

The special relationship between Britain and the United States was the main yardstick, Canada still being very much a British dominion. The defence of North America was deemed "of common interest" in the Ogdenberg declaration by President Roosevelt and Premier Mackenzie King in 1940.

On the strength of this declaration a Permanent Joint Board on Defence was set up. It has two civilian chairmen and meets twice a year. This most un-bureaucratic arrangement was redolent of Anglo-Saxon pragmatism.

When the Soviet nuclear threat arose an early warning system was set up, the Dew, or distant early warning, Line, which runs more or less along the sixty-ninth parallel. It was financed by the United States and inaugurated in 1957.

Another radar line, the Mid-Canada Line, is no longer operational, but the

Pine Tree Line still runs along the fifty-fifth parallel. It was initially operated in part by the United States and America still pays two thirds of the running costs.

Nowadays the Pine Tree Line is run by Canadians alone, but all told the system is deemed outmoded. Of the twenty thousand Americans who used to man the Dew Line only a thousand or so remain — civilians under contract to the US Air Force. The remainder of the staff are Canadians, but the entire system is an integral part of Norad.

The radar shield might still spot low-flying strategic bombers, but it is unlikely to prove adequate for coping with unmanned Cruise missiles. An additional system such as AWACS would be needed, but Canada is not enthusiastic because the cost would be extremely high.

Cooperation with the United States has, in keeping with Canada's objective of an independent foreign policy, been scaled down over the years.

Canada's defence HQ is in Yellowknife, Alberta, but in North Bay there is a Norad regional HQ with a Canadian and an American CO. Americans are also stationed in Goose Bay, Labrador.

Naval cooperation is also extensive in both Atlantic and Pacific waters.

Over the past decade Canadians have occasionally wondered whether Canada does in fact exercise any control over its northern territories. Are not the Americans very much in a position to do as they see fit? Does Canada have any real idea whether or not Soviet submarines patrol Arctic waters?

At the Defence Department in Ottawa officials take a more relaxed view. They feel that reconnaissance flights by Argus and Lockheed P 3 aircraft are adequate.

Politically Canada may in recent years have felt the need to draw a clearer distinction between itself and the United States, but the general impression gained at the Defence Department is that such ambitions must, in practice, be viewed with a pinch of salt.

Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin visited Canada in October 1971 to try to enlist Canadian support for a friendship pact with its Arctic neighbour Russia, but little came of the attempt.



Canadian Defence Minister Barnett Jerome Danson, right, with this country's Defence Minister Georg Leber visiting the HQ of the Canadian Forces in Europe at Lahr, southern Germany on 19 May (Photo: dpa)

Canada's North differs from Siberia inasmuch as it really is virtually uninhabited.

So the defence brief is merely to prevent upset the ecological balance and, of course, to protect Canada's rights in its 200-mile economic zone in Arctic waters.

Despite this markedly nonchalant approach there can be no mistaking a very evident concern first and foremost with the country's northern defences.

This is not to say that Canada is not interested in Europe — although twenty per cent of the population do not even know what Nato stands for.

As far as Ottawa is concerned Nato has a definite role. Canada does not approve of the idea of extending the pact's role south of, say, the Tropic of Cancer or of forming a South Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

The Canadians admit, of course, that a Sato might well have a useful role to perform. A potential adversary need not worry about pacts when it sends gunboats to patrol the coastline of, for instance, Angola.

Canada remains loyal to Nato while aiming to appear progressive in its ties with the Third World. This does not prevent the Canadian navy from holding joint manoeuvres with the US navy in the Caribbean, however.

As for its European commitments, Canada says, Ottawa has made matters clear by opting for the German Leopard tank. It has no use for the Leopard in Canada itself, although there is a proving ground in New Brunswick.

Canada does not envisage an invasion of North America, but would feel threatened, as would the United States, if Warsaw Pact tanks were to invade Western Europe.

Defence Department spokesmen claim there is a grass roots feeling on this point among Canadians, although here too matters are more complicated. On the one hand Canada is motivated by idealism and tends towards pacifism. On the other many immigrants are still sufficiently aware of their European origins to realise what the loss of freedom can mean.

But both trends remain determined to ensure that Canada remains free both at home and abroad to an extent that few other countries can match. They disagree solely on methods, so a gap invariably needs bridging before defence commitments are undertaken.

This country is Canada's second-largest defence partner, and it is not merely a matter of troops crossing the Atlantic on routine missions. Cooperation has been established on a wider footing, partly at Chancellor Schmidt's prompting.

stance, tank units from this country take part in exercises alongside Canadian infantrymen. This country is the only one with which Canada has taken military cooperation this far.

Joint exercises and equipment are not the entire story either. Integration is discussed in detail at conferences of staff officers.

The course of events in the wake of the Helsinki conference has given rise to a more widespread appreciation among the Canadian public of the need for such cooperation.

Robert Held  
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 17 May 1977)

## IN THIS ISSUE

FOREIGN AFFAIRS	Page 2
Tough task for Bonn at Law of the Sea conference	
THE CHURCH	Page 4
Is Germany becoming a land of heathens?	
EUROPE	Page 7
EEC poll: New dimension in power politics	

NATURAL RESOURCES	Page 8
Water: Purity is the problem	
LITERATURE	Page 10
New vote of confidence at PEN Club meeting	
OCCUPATIONS	Page 14
The only woman airline pilot in the West	
SPORT	Page 15
Financial flop for tennis championships	



Fighting has resumed with undiminished vigour at the UN Law of the Sea conference in New York for a share of the seven seas and their spoils.

Until the sixties the high seas were common property, apart from territorial waters within the three-mile zone, but the UN conference was convened with a view to redistribution.

The share-out envisaged would mark the end of freedom of the seas for international shipping, fishery and marine research and, given the globe's geography, necessarily affect seventy per cent of the Earth's surface.

Law of the Sea conference is a harmless-sounding name, but it stands for a clash over the exploitation of the seas that is dominated by world affairs and diametrically opposed economic and commercial interests.

A conference convened to redraft the law of the sea has got out of hand and is now entering its sixth marathon session as participants compete for a slice of the cake.

Much more is at stake than territorial waters, economic zones and international supervision and exploitation of whatever may be left. The conference is also dealing with the world economy, development, environmental conservation, fishery on the high seas, international shipping and naval affairs.

So the Law of the Sea conference affects us all. The outcome of the New York conference will decide whether this country can be assured of supplies of foodstuffs, mineral wealth and energy from the oceans.

It will also decide whether or not the merchant navy and maritime trade will retain sufficient leeway and whether this country's sophisticated technological know-how for exploiting seabed resources will be put to full use.

Seabed resources are an undeniably tempting proposition. There are an estimated fifteen times more copper ore awaiting exploitation on the seabed than there are known reserves left on dry land.

The ratio is even more startling in respect of other minerals — 1,500 times more nickel and 4,000 times more manganese ore.

In the clash over a slice of the cake this country has little coastline of its own with which to bargain, so its leeway is strictly limited.

Countries with lengthy coastlines, on the other hand, are claiming as much of the ocean as possible. In this respect there is nothing to choose between industrialised and developing countries; both are bargaining for all they can get.

Most are not only claiming an exclusive right to exploit marine resources

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

# Tough task for Bonn at Law of the Sea conference

within a 200-mile economic zone. They also lay claim to their respective share of the continental shelf.

Continental shelves account for ninety per cent of estimated seabed reserves of oil and natural gas. Canada's territorial waters would, including the continental shelf, extend a handsome 600 miles out into the Atlantic and the Pacific.

Even before a final decision was reached a number of countries decided to go it alone and unilaterally extend their territorial waters to 200 miles. These countries include Iceland, Norway, Canada, the United States and the Soviet Union.

The European Community has laid claim to an EEC maritime zone, but common fishing policies cannot yet be enforced because Britain and Eire still insist on privileges for local fishermen in coastal waters.

The developing countries are proving increasingly insistent in their demands for a share of the spoils. Their argument is that the seven seas ought no longer to be a self-service store for the industrialised world with its capital resources and know-how.

The Third World would like deep-sea foodstuff reserves and mineral resources to be governed by an international body. One of the tasks this seabed authority will be expected to perform is to ensure that deep-sea mining does not make the market prices of developing countries' mineral resources plummet.

Third World countries would likewise prefer the Law of the Sea conference to opt for as much regimentation as possible in exploiting seabed resources, because planning would tally with their overall objective of a new international economic order.

The developing countries currently enjoy a two-thirds majority among the 150 countries represented at the New York conference and can be expected to be more uncompromising than ever in demanding their maximum objectives.

Bonn, on the other hand, is still hopeful of compromise and anxious to avoid confrontation with the Third World at this conference as at other international gatherings.

International agreement on a revised version of the law of the sea is urgently needed, Bonn further argues, in order to

forestall further unilateral action by individual countries.

This country is not prepared to compromise, however, on proposals that run counter to its vital interests. Bonn does not approve of vesting powers in an international monopoly. Even on the seabed, market forces must apply as far as possible.

As far as industrial and commercial interests in the Federal Republic are concerned there must be no compromise on the following points: — This country's merchant navy specialises in certain sectors and thus stands to be hit hard by protectionist measures. It must continue to enjoy the right of passage through straits without let or hindrance and be entitled to ply peacefully territorial waters over which other countries exercise sovereignty. Economic zones must continue as the high seas where shipping is concerned.

— Restrictions may be imposed on shipping for environmental reasons, but coastal states must not be entitled to impose whatever restrictions take their fancy. The restrictions must comply with internationally agreed standards.

— Restrictions may be imposed on shipping for environmental reasons, but coastal states must not be entitled to impose whatever restrictions take their fancy. The restrictions must comply with internationally agreed standards.

— Seabed mining, an industry that is full of promise, must be assured of access to the raw materials it is hoped to exploit.

— Basic research must retain freedom of the seas. Research vessels must not be required to apply for permission to conduct missions in other countries' economic zones.

In good time and, if at all possible, in conjunction with the European Community, this country must be ready to put its losses in the event of a compromise being reached at the Law of the Sea conference.

Ocean-going trawlers would stand to forfeit major fishing grounds off the coast of North America, so bilateral agreements must be concluded with the countries concerned.

Bonn seems sure to forfeit legal rights and economic opportunities at the conference, so care must be taken to ensure

without delay that alternative options are claimed in, say, the Arctic and Antarctic regions.

This country must try to join a 1959 Antarctic agreement and realize German rights by the terms of the Spitzbergen agreement.

The government must also draw a contingency-plans in case the conference proves even more protracted or indeed breaks down.

Since the developing countries' concept of an international seabed authority are tending to stymie the exploitation of seabed resources, the Congress is drawing up interim regulations that will give US seabed mining a head start.

Continued on page 3

## Ethnic Germans in Moscow clashes over exit permits

Ethnic Germans in the Soviet Union who have been involved in clashes with the police in an attempt to speed up their bids for exit permits face both Bonn and Moscow with big problems.

It is not merely a matter of how to would-be emigrants can be helped, but also the consideration of the entire issue is a touchy one.

In signing the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe — the Helsinki accord — the Soviet Union and its satellites ran the risk of appearing to have underrated in the same way as Western countries dismissed the entire Helsinki Agreement as mere verbiage.

The Helsinki Agreement provided for greater freedom of travel in Europe, with the result that many people in Eastern Europe were not only hopeful of changes, for the better, but also summoned up the courage to apply for permits.

Only a few years ago, the very idea of demonstrations in Moscow by would-be emigrants would have been out of the question.

It stands to reason that a state such as the Soviet Union must feel such demonstrations to represent a grave challenge to its authority. For fear lest others follow suit, Moscow might be tempted to over-react.

It is now up to Bonn diplomats to cope with the problem. They must simply leave the demonstrators to their fate, yet making them a cause which will not help either. The risks are high and Foreign Office staff will need to proceed with caution.

(Köln: Stadt-Anzeiger, 18 May 1977)

## POLITICS

# Young Socialists pose a dilemma for the SPD

Even the particularly militant among West Berlin's Social Democrats are unlikely to find it very gratifying that their party once more has demonstrated determination.

Of course, rigorous decisions strengthen a somewhat shaken self-assurance — and at least there is the feeling that something has been done. On the other hand, no party can dismiss the chairman of a work group representing its organised young blood with a mere shrug.

If this young members' organisation (the so-called Jusos, or Young Socialists) were to run away from the parent party — If not, on the other hand, at least in some strength — the party could just as well close down its Bonn headquarters.

Party Chairman Willy Brandt was quite right when he said in his Freiburg speech of the previous weekend that experience shows that after a short while no one cares anymore about political sect founders.

On the other hand, who would care about the SPD in a few years' time if the active part of a whole generation were more or less to lose interest in the party because the young members' work group has been disbanded?

## Wehner appeals for restraint in dealings with East Berlin

Herbert Wehner is concerned about relations between the two Germanies. His latest interview was intended to improve the atmosphere for the forthcoming round of talks between Bonn and East Berlin as well as for the CSCE Follow-up Conference in Belgrade next month.

Herr Wehner is by no means promoting GDR objectives when warning against meeting "toughness with toughness".

On the contrary... his statement is intended to serve the main objective of Bonn's *Deutschlandpolitik*, namely to improve and extend person-to-person contact between the two German states, although the GDR is not exactly interested in bringing this about.

The SPD Floor Leader took a rather daring step forward with his interview. His appeal to show restraint in triumphantly pointing to the internal difficulties of the GDR makes sense since a cornered East Berlin Government is likely to prove belligerent rather than conciliatory.

But every border incident and any news about acts of inhumanity in the GDR obviously kindle understandable emotions in the Federal Republic of Germany. Intra-German realities are anything but conducive to objective attitudes.

It is to be feared, however, that Wehner might set in train a discussion that could do more harm than good. The question as to whether and to which extent the Federal Republic of Germany should occupy itself with the internal problems of the GDR is unsuited for heated public debate.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 18 May 1977)

The intellectual radiation of the Jusos is diminishing, as evidenced by Herr Benneter's interviews.

And within the party itself what was once vaunted as the "SPD of the eighties" has become as unimportant as, unfortunately, the work group of women has been all along.

Self-contemplation is the keyword — and latterly, of course, also the solidarity of a disgruntled youth group with its chairman; a chairman this group does not know personally and whose political intentions are unknown to them (the latter would be too much to ask anyway).

The dilemma of the SPD Executive Committee lies in the fact that Benneter's expulsion from the party would make matters worse and that, on the other hand, it has no choice but to expel him since nobody can be a loyal party member who once said that he could do just as well outside the party.

The Executive Committee is obviously aware of the consequences. The discontent of the young members with their own branch and with their elders will increase; the Stamokap theory will become interesting even for people who hitherto have no idea why they should consider the state as a mere "lackey of capitalism".

The SPD has once more been seized by an excitement that will last for some time and which could have been channelled into something constructive.

Incidentally, if it is true that there is another Extraparlimentary Opposition in the offing, young SPD members will find it even more difficult than seven years ago, when their first emotional tide of protest ended, to find a political home in one of the existing parties — and the consequences would be disastrous.

For this reason alone, nothing would be gained if the SPD now decided to disband its entire young members' organisation.

How meaningless this would be was evidenced by the SDS, the left wing youth organisation, now disbanded, of which Rudi Dutschke was a prominent member during West Berlin university unrest in the sixties, and the establishment of the SHB, the students' organisation, which instantly turned into a new SDS. A chasm is inevitable. But if at some later date a new beginning is to be made there will at least be enough mistakes to learn from.

Herbert Riehl-Heise

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 17 May 1977)

## Bid by Rainer Barzel to become Erhard's political heir

The fight between the heirs and would-be heirs over the legacy of a recently-departed loved one is unseemly, to say the least.

The picture changes entirely when this fight concerns the spiritual heritage of a politician.

Is the late Ludwig Erhard looking down, smiling smugly at the sight of the leading politicians of all four Bundestag parties trying to lay claim to him in their obituary speeches?

But Strauss and Kohl, Schmidt and (formerly) Schiller, Genscher and Friderichs — all of them would-be heirs — have every reason to feel steamrollered by the latest claimant, namely Rainer Barzel.

During a meeting of Catholic businessmen in Northrhine-Westphalia, the former CDU chairman Rainer Barzel startled those present with the claim that Erhard had appointed him his spiritual heir and that shortly before the latter's death they had reviewed his economic principles.

Now, said Herr Barzel, he would lay claim to Erhard's legacy and continue it politically.

Even to those who are not interested in getting involved in the dispute about this inheritance, Barzel's claim came unexpectedly.

What did he have in common with Erhard? Primarily probably only the bitter fate of having been toppled as the CDU's number one man by "shots in the back" from his own ranks, as Barzel put it.

But we seem to remember — or do we? — that Rainer Barzel was among those who shot at Erhard in 1966.

The pendulum has swung many times in Barzel's political career. The last time was in 1973 when he tried to achieve a comeback as a left-wing man in the CDU and as an opponent of Strauss. Now he has presented his latest challenge.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 18 May 1977)

## Continued from page 2

interests a free hand as far as Washington is concerned.

Bonn may then have to follow suit in order to protect corresponding industrial interests in this country, which would be grist to the mill of the North-South dialogue.

Klaus Broichhausen

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 20 May 1977)

## Wehner warns coalition parties

contribute towards fortifying the coalition by overcoming internal problems.

A sequence of SPD scandals in recent months has had a disastrous effect on the party. But the Free Democrats, too, have taken a beating, and this, in turn, has affected the coalition atmosphere.

Tensions between the coalition partners induced the Social Democrats to pander to every wish of the FDP, and this again could tarnish still further the public image of the SPD. The whole thing has become a vicious circle.

The "Benneter Affair" has to do with the peculiarities of the situation. His election as chairman of the Jusos and the tide of solidification are in keeping

with the general mood: dissatisfaction is spreading because the party rank and file has been watching for years how more and more Social Democratic targets failed to materialise.

In these circumstances it was only natural that anyone complaining about the SPD degenerating into a Chancellor Schmidt party should meet with acclaim.

And this is exactly what Benneter's latest appeal to step up discussion on what Social Democratic policy actually is amounts to.

But the SPD leadership does not give the impression that it will permit itself to be shaken, and Benneter himself has certainly not improved his position by his televised statement in which he claimed that the SPD brass was subjected to pressure from the "conservative elements" of public opinion.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 18 May 1977)

Nato Defence Ministers' meeting in Brussels were confronted by the military and strategic problem that the Soviet Union is clearly intent on establishing a worldwide lead in the arms race.

This was the conclusion reached in a comprehensive Western intelligence survey of Soviet arms programmes that was submitted to the Brussels conference.

Nato will have to redouble its own defence efforts if it is to retain credibility as a deterrent. The Defence Ministers resolved in Brussels to act on President Carter's call for an annual increase in national defence spending of three per cent over and above the rate of inflation.

By the same token, Soviet defence spending is increasing at an estimated rate of four per cent a year, leaving Nato with no option but to follow suit as long as the Kremlin agrees neither to

## President Carter gives Nato a breath of fresh air

slow down the pace nor to freeze conventional troop levels.

Mr Carter's visit to London for the Western economic summit has evidently boosted Nato, clearing the clouds of gloom and despondency that formed part of the stock in trade of a succession of military reports that pointed out how weak the West's defences are in Europe.

Nato Defence Ministers have also taken up Mr Carter's second proposal and drawn up a list of defence priorities for the eighties.

US Defence Secretary Harold Brown told fellow-Ministers in Brussels that stepping up preparedness to meet a sur-

prise attack must be a focal point of future planning. But so must arms co-operation and standardisation.

Much remains to be done on both scores, and European members of Nato will certainly have to put their heads together before they are able to submit joint proposals suitable for encouraging a two-way traffic in arms purchases.

Mr Carter too will doubtless have no easy time in implementing his good intentions in the face of opposition by the US arms lobby which, it will be recalled, put paid to the joint tank project.

US rejection of this country's Leopard II tank was probably one of the reasons why Bonn has postponed a decision on whether or not to buy the AWACS radar shield. The explanation officially given in Bonn, of course, is that Britain has pulled out of the project, necessitating a rethink by this country.

(Der Tagespiegel, 18 May 1977)

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## ■ THE CHURCH

# Is Germany becoming a land of heathens? Churches' power waning, says author



It is exciting to see how rapidly experiences encompassing vast eras are becoming devalued in our day and age. What was formulated 2,000 years ago and still held true yesterday has all of a sudden become passé.

"Jesus came into this world and established a spiritual realm. By thus separating the theological from the political system the state ceased to be a unit... but since governments and laws passed by the state continued to exist this dual power developed into a permanent conflict about jurisdiction, which made good governments impossible in Christian states."

"It has never been definitely clarified to whom one owes more obedience — the worldly master or the priest."

Statements like this from Jean Jacques Rousseau's *Social Contract* were still applicable to our reality in 1950. Today, 27 years later, such statements are no more than historic reminiscences.

This historic truth applied to the problems inherent in the persecution of Christians in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, the investiture tug-of-war at the height of the Middle Ages, the Huguenot persecution in France, the cultural struggle of the 19th century, the Third Reich and even the political scene in post-war Germany.

Church and state were involved in a struggle about power over Man. But only a few years sufficed to eradicate this reality.

The churches played an important role in the post-war era where political matters are concerned. But nowadays they are only one of many groups acting on the political stage.

The understanding of religion and politics, of church and state as two separate spheres vying for the loyalty of the citizen and the politician has been pushed into the background today. Although the churches enjoy more legal protection than ever before, they have lost control over Man and thus their dominating position in society.

This in any event is the view arrived at by the American author Frederic Spotts in his book *Church and Politics in Germany* — a work written with scientific thoroughness and eminent readability.

Mr Spotts depicts relations between church and politics in the Federal Republic of Germany, and there is every likelihood that his work will prove a thorn in the flesh of both sides: the churches — above all the Catholic — and their lay critics who still fight against the citizen's tutelage by the churches and church influence in politics as if we still lived in 1952 and not in 1977.

Frederic Spotts' vantage point is political rather than theological. The churches are viewed primarily as social institutions and not as religious communities.

His book begins with an examination of the churches' role during the Occupation period when the Protestant Bishop Dibelius is quoted as having said to American officers: "Democracy will not

gain a foothold in Germany because it is an alien system."

From there Mr Spotts goes on to examine where and above all how the churches influenced the political development in the Federal Republic of Germany. He examines their close meshing as well as their conflicts with the state and its political parties.

This is followed by a description of relations between church and state, the problem of the Concordat and the school issue in which Catholic parents left their Bishops in the lurch for the first time since the "cultural struggle" — probably because of the constant tutelage of parents by the Church and because of the patent disregard for parental independence.

He deals with Konrad Adenauer's relationship with the Church — particularly the Catholic — which was delicate and full of tension, as well as with the differing attitudes of Protestantism and Catholicism towards such issues as reunification, rearmament, compulsory military service, nuclear weapons and Ostpolitik.

What are the reasons for the decline of the churches' influence in politics as depicted by Mr Spotts?

There is, among other things, the elimination of the ideological character of political life after 1945 (brought about by Weimar experiences) in favour of a pragmatic attitude.

This new attitude maintains that politics must not be based on *Weltanschauung* nor must it strive for a perfect social order, but that it must instead strive for compromises, cooperation and — in keeping with Aristotle — the realisation of the second-best.

Catholic lay organisations are to step up their political commitment. This has been clear from the very first day of the spring plenary session of the Central Committee of German Catholics, the foremost lay body in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Political ideas have always been part and parcel of German Catholicism, and above all lay Catholics have always been interested in social problems. But latterly they have increased their efforts at gaining more influence in politics and social affairs.

According to observers, this is due to increased self-confidence among Catholics who are now the numerically strongest religious denomination in the Federal Republic of Germany ranking before the Protestants. It is also due, however, to the fact that their objectives fall on fallow ground with the Government SPD/FDP Coalition.

The list of Catholic complaints about and conflicts with the Government is long, and it includes the draft bill concerning cost reduction in the public health sector, which was approved by the Bundestag recently. Church leaders are now pinning their hopes on the Mediation Committee of Bundestag and

In the social sector, however, the

It is understandable that the churches had a hard time coping with this new climate. Their social and philosophical claim to absoluteness no longer fitted into our day and age.

Moreover, the churches became insecure as to their political role. Though Protestantism proved through its various Synods, Church Conferences and publications, one of the most important promoters of "conditions and procedures making liberal democracy possible in Germany," it was torn between non-political Lutherans and political Barth followers, thus being unable to speak with one voice and become a major political power factor.

The Catholic Church, on the other hand, was faced with the problem of how to withdraw from active politics. After the failure of political Catholicism in 1932/33 the majority of Bishops decided that the Church should no longer be made directly a part of politics.

But at the same time — out of fear of Communism and under pressure from the Pope — the Church was interested in maintaining its say in politics.

This contradiction between laying claim to a political role and the fear of exercising this role was the main dilemma of the Catholic Church after 1945. In order to escape this dilemma, the Church decided on the one hand to abolish its old Centre Party and, on the other, to support the CDU unconditionally.

But its ties with the CDU as a means of gaining political influence via that party and of implementing its social and philosophical doctrines proved a miscalculation.

This is due to the fact that the suc-

cess of the CDU, which was moulded after the American mass parties, meshed entirely with its lack of any doctrine. The *raison d'être* of the CDU lies in its wide appeal to the masses rather than in Catholic exclusiveness, and in tolerance and pragmatism rather than in dogmatism.

As a result of this basic attitude the part made a point of eliminating rather than stressing religion in parliamentary work. This went so far that Kurt Georg Kiesinger once emphasised that his party would permit no one to tell it what a "Christian" was.

Small wonder then that Catholics attempted time and again to establish something like a Centre Party within the CDU. But as Mr Spotts demonstrates by many examples, this only accelerated the political neutralisation and isolation of the churches.

Frederic Spotts' book shows how the churches lost more and more of their former power — especially in the sciences — and how they were pushed into the role of a qualitative rather than a quantitative minority. As he put it, the church still lures but the lay population hardly yields to the call anymore.

It is regrettable that Mr Spotts' research only goes as far as 1974. Although Friedrich Weigend-Abendroth provides a review of the latest developments, this does not extend into the actual present, namely the tug-of-war about the ecumenical and racism programme, the controversy with regard to family relations legislation and the debate on the (abortifacient) Paragraph 218 of the Criminal Code.

Nor does it take into account the increasing political and theological polarisation within the churches themselves, the erosion of the "People's Church," the trend by the citizenry to leave the church altogether in the past few years as well as the unwillingness and inability of both churches to ponder new organisational structures and to evolve

Continued on page 5

## Catholic lay organisations to step up their political activities



Bundesrat — the latter having still to pass the bill into law.

Along with other non-state hospital operators, the Catholic Church fears that its status as operator of hospitals is threatened by the law.

The Catholic Church is also concerned about amendments of the laws governing parental care for children. According to them, the state is dangerously interfering in family life.

Representatives of the Church also criticise Bonn's aliens policy. There, the churches want to alleviate social injustices resulting from economic necessity.

The attitude of the Church can best be summed up by the following key phrases: Opposition to excessive state power and excessive red tape, on the one hand, and advocacy of more individual freedoms and better protection of the family.

In pursuing these objectives the Church wants to devote itself above all to social work on behalf of fringe groups.

In the social sector, however, the

Church has to put up with considerable criticism. Trade unionists complain that church employees, representing the country's largest group of workers after federal, railroad and postal staff, have no wage contracts at all.

The churches still oppose unionised labour on the grounds that his would be out of keeping with the particular requirements of church work. Social experts of the churches maintain that the pros and cons in this regard will have to be weighed carefully.

Apart from topical questions, the Catholic delegates to the Bad Godesberg congress — they represent numerically strong organisations — dealt with the human rights issue in various European countries on the eve of the CSCE Follow-up Conference in Belgrade.

The Rhineland-Palatinate Minister of Education Frau Laurien issued a statement on vocational education.

The award of the Catholic Journalism Prize also reflects the political commitment of Catholic laymen.

The prize was awarded by Cardinal Hoffner, the chairman of the German Bishops' Conference, to Harald Vocke, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, and two other journalists.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 May 1977)

## ■ BUNDESWEHR

## Life's a lot easier for today's National Service trainees



As the new recruits returned from their first breaking-in march of basic training, platoon leader Lt. Kruse asked his men: "Anyone got blisters?" When no reply was forthcoming he once more asked: "Which of you thinks he's got blisters?"

Two of the 30 recruits serving in the 1st Platoon of the 873rd Sappers Training Company in Munich raised their hands. "Okay," says Lt. Kruse, "let's have a look at them." He then dismissed the platoon.

Back in barracks he inspected the feet of the marchers while they smoked their first cigarette since the exercise began.

Kruse, two medics and Company Commander Lt. Brandes make the rounds.

At the sight of the steaming feet of Private Hagl who thought that he had blisters they breathe a sigh of relief... for all Hagl has is a couple of red pressure spots on the heels.

At first the soldier refuses to believe it. His buddies mock him, saying, "At least you've got clean feet now!"

But other recruits are not that lucky. Some of them find that they have genuine holes in the skin of their feet.

They are given expert advice on the care of their boots, among it the old barracks chant: "Piss into them and let them stand overnight. That'll draw the acid from the leather."

The Company Commander's advice to one of the recruits is somewhat more sound. He tells him to exchange his boots for a pair that is not too big.

After the foot parade in barracks the medics arrive at the following balance sheet for the march: Seven soldiers have pressure spots or slight blisters and six have fairly large, broken, and in some instances, bleeding sores.

All 82 members of the Company who went on the march completed it.

The actual Company strength is considerably larger. Says Master Sergeant Wohlrab: "We have been training 124 recruits since 1 April in the 873rd, but a third did not take part in the march."

The discrepancy between the strength of the number of men who participated in the march and the actual Company strength is indicative of the training system in the Bundeswehr after its 20 years of existence. It is equally indicative of the physical condition of the 1977 crop of recruits.

Wohlrab and Brandes rarely get a chance to confront the entire Company. On the day of the march 15 recruits

Continued from page 4

future-oriented understanding of themselves ("Church Paper" of the FDP).

Therein lies the main problem of the churches today. Their willingness to reorganise will be the determining factor in deciding whether Karl Rahner will proven right with his statement that Germany — and not only in the East — is developing into "a heathen country with a Christian past." Klaus Reblin

(Die Zeit, 20 May 1977)

were in the sick bay, three were confined to bed in their quarters; a third group had not yet completed the extensive medical checkups while a considerable number had been declared temporarily unfit for training outside barracks.

Says Lt. Kruse, an officer with a great deal of experience in training recruits: "Our men are not bad but their physical endurance is diminishing all the time."

Military authorities in this country are increasingly forced to draft young men who are not even entirely capable of completing basic training.

According to Defence Ministry statistics, our recruits are about four centimetres taller than their predecessors two decades ago (the strongest group of 30 per cent measures in at between 175 and 179 centimetres) but they are proving less and less fit.

In order not to overtax they young men physically, demands on them during basic training have to be cut down.

Largely unnoticed by the public, this was done in the wake of reducing compulsory service from 18 to 15 months in 1972. Not only was the three months basic training reorganised — it was also made easier.

This is clearly demonstrated by the breaking-in march of the recruits. Wohlrab and Brandes still remember having had to march 25 kilometres with full pack, while today's recruits march a mere 6 kilometres as a breaking-in exercise without pack and helmet, but with rifle and gasmask.

For the Munich recruits such an exercise amounts to no more than a 90-minute march in Munich's English Garden — that city's most beautiful park — past curious passers-by, children and old ladies.

It goes without saying that these marches are extended in the course of

basic training. The recruits will then have to complete another 15-kilometre march with helmet and a similar exercise with light pack.

In order not to provide a distorted picture of the new type of basic training, Lt. Brandes stresses that the curriculum has become more "concentrated" compared with earlier days.

He points out that the Army cannot afford any waste of time and frequently has to include time slots for exercises which are not in the duty roster.

Thus for instance recruits must be taken to the mess to in closed formations in order to get at least a few minutes of such exercises a day.

All in all, says Lt. Brandes, the training today is more specialised. The recruit is trained for his future function depending on the branch of the Armed Forces in which he serves.

Lt. Brandes is satisfied with his drill instructors who, according to him, are better trained for the job than before.

But a certain discrepancy between theory and practice remains. According to official guidelines, basic training is to provide the individual recruit with "the necessary general military knowledge and ability needed for self-defence."

Lt. Brandes concedes that, compared with this target, his recruits leave the Company after three months as "half-trained soldiers."

Of all the infantry weapons they are thoroughly familiarised only with the assault rifle, and they receive no training at all with machine guns. Moreover, there are fewer exercises on the shooting range during the first three months than there were before, namely 9 instead of 13. But Lt. Brandes believes that performance has not deteriorated.

The assessment of the recruits improves as soon as it exceeds mere physical fitness. Although physical perfor-

mance does not match that of the fifties and sixties, recruits of today are more self-assured and have become more natural, according to Lt. Brandes.

Observers gain the impression that the "style" of basic training is less "barack squarish" and more objective than in the Bundeswehr's first decade.

Recruits who are late for roll call are not shouted at and ridiculed in front of the entire Company, but are quietly instructed and admonished. Lt. Brandes describes the drill instructor's role as that of an "older comrade teaching the younger one."

The recruit himself views his military service in the Armed Forces as well as the Federal Republic of Germany as a whole with more detachment.

But because they are physically less fit, recruits of today consider even the reduced physical demands excessive or even as harassment.

And since they have enjoyed considerable liberties in civilian life, they consider regimentation during training virtually insufferable. "I feel like a puppet," complains one of the men, although he has no gripe against military service as such and fully understands its necessity.

### Recruits distrust the military system

Defence Minister Georg Leber's contention that he knows from personal experience that armed service is generally recognised as the "citizen's duty" and "community service" by the soldiers is invalidated on a major point by the experience in the Munich barracks.

Says one recruit: "We have a state which it is worth defending, but I don't agree with the manner in which we are trained. Is it necessary for an NCO to have so much power?"

This is not said as an accusation nor by way of showing off, and some recruits even contradict such a statement, saying that a chain of command is necessary. But even so, it expresses considerable mistrust in the military system and in superiors.

The resistance even goes so far that official attempts at explaining to the young men what rights they have as soldiers are brushed aside.

In the 873rd Company, this became obvious after a lecture by the Company Commander on complaint regulations. The interest in how and when a soldier may complain was no more than lukewarm. None of the recruits expressed doubts nor did they want to know more about this subject.

But a written test dealing with the same subject brought good results with generally high marks. The question is only: have the recruits really grasped the meaning of the exercise, namely their right to complain?

Says one of them: "That's nothing but talk; they were just buttering us up." Another put it this way: "They are only doing this in order to make us jump faster." None of those question believed in an actual right of complaint.

Lt. Brandes wants to hold a discussion on the subject with his charges shortly. He pointed out that there were plenty of reasons for such a discussion, as there were for complaints.

The quarters of the recruits, he said, are in an abominable condition, and the ablution facilities are intolerable. There are only four showers and 14 washbasins (only one with hot water) for 124 men.

Christian Polke

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 13 May 1977)



Bundeswehr recruits with Lt. Brandes, right.

(Photo: Fritz, Neuwirrh/Bildzeitung Verlag)



## ■ EMPLOYMENT

# Many recipes, but no cure-all for unemployment

Politicians in the Federal Republic of Germany are virtually permanently engaged in cracking the nut of unemployment.

"The realm of freedom begins where work necessitated by want ends. Shorter working times are the major prerequisite." This enticing vision of a technically highly-developed society is seen by Karl Marx holds no solace for us today.

The people of today do not see the realm of freedom, but a disastrous situation; they do not see the hope of more and more citizens working less and less, but the danger that fewer and fewer will in fact be able to work.

For Chancellor Helmut Schmidt unemployment is an "accident of the economy" comparable with a disaster in a nuclear power station. And the left-wing CDU member Norbert Blum foresees a "frightful class struggle between those who have a job and those who do not."

Old and new remedies are being dug up everywhere. At the same time politicians are searching for scapegoats. Unemployment is threatening to drive a wedge between the coalition parties and the Opposition alike.

The Federal Labour Office figures for April, which were released at the beginning of May, were anything but encouraging, and SPD hopes that the upswing would have its effect on the labour market were dashed.

As opposed to previous springs, unemployment figures failed to diminish markedly. The total number of jobless dropped by a mere 45,000 in April, bringing the total to 1,039,000, which is only slightly less than last year's average.

During the recession years many of our citizens had come to terms with high unemployment as an inevitable side product of economic crises.

But now even the most unflappable of SPD economic policy makers no longer believe in this axiom. After all, we achieved a shocking 5.5 per cent growth

**Another DM 500 mill. to provide jobs**

The Federal Labour Office in Nuremberg has set aside another DM500 million to be spent in the near future for the purpose of creating jobs.

The blueprints are ready, and the programme can get under way, as soon as Bonn gives the green light.

According to a recent statement, the Labour Office is confident that the Federal Government will approve the necessary funds, which will provide 20,000 unemployed with jobs for one year.

At present it is estimated that some 33,000 unemployed will be provided with jobs through employment programmes for which there is DM650 million available.

Since such measures have side effects in other sectors of the economy, they also provide additional jobs or secure existing ones.

The added DM500 million is to provide jobs primarily for older people, those who have been unemployed over a long period and for women. The same applies to the DM650 million.

(Kleier Nachrichten, 13 May 1977)

in 1976 without making much of a dent in our unemployment situation.

Labour market pundits were confronted with a situation in which growth by no means coincided with more employment.

This seemed to bear out those who maintained that our present means of combating joblessness are useless. The SPD member of parliament Egon Lutz presented a paper worked out by a special work group of his Parliamentary Party. The paper called for shorter working times.

This could be implemented in the form of a reduced weekly working time, longer vacations or earlier retirement and a later beginning of the working life. As one of its major objectives the group advocated a reduction of the permissible weekly working-time from 48 to 40 hours in order to induce business to fill additional orders by hiring staff rather than by making existing staff work overtime.

Politicians of all parties favour a shorter working life. Some demand that the 'flexible retirement age' be reduced to 59 or 58. Others would prefer young people to attend an additional 'occupational-oriented' school year and thus begin their working lives later. This would provide a major problem group on our labour market with better qualifications and hence better occupational opportunities.

Educational policy makers, on the other hand, call for more government jobs. Education Minister Rohde said in this connection that he could name a number of sectors in which there is a considerable need for additional labour.

If need be, he pointed out, two applicants could share one job — each earning less. Experiments to this effect are already in progress in the Rhineland-Palatinate.

The SPD work group wants to impose a labour market levy on civil servants and the self-employed. This levy would be used to finance either parent of a baby for one year in order to enable him or her to look after the child.

SPD politicians hope that this would enable them to kill three birds with one stone. Firstly, the number of women looking for part-time jobs would diminish considerably. Secondly, it would be beneficial to a baby to have one parent constantly around and, thirdly, such a financial booster shot would increase the birth rate.

Most of these proposals are not new, having been presented by Egon Lutz once before — about a year ago. But at that time the whole thing was blocked by the party brass. Things are likely to be different now, however.

At the beginning of June, the entire Parliamentary Party will delve into all possibilities of solving the unemployment dilemma.

Meanwhile, the paper has been handed back to the work group for revision since some proposals could have a negative effect.

Business was quick on the draw to put forward its own view of the facts. In purely arithmetical terms, business argues, shorter working times are attractive.

By reducing the weekly working time by one hour we would gain 670,000 new

jobs; and one day additional vacation per year would provide 102,000 jobs. But business doubts that such arithmetic games bear any semblance to reality.

The past has shown that stepped-up streamlining as a result of shorter working hours brings about the same output figures.

Moreover, our businessmen argue, there would be no suitable people to fill the thus created openings. We now already have a shortage of skilled labour, and none of these measures would increase the demand for unskilled workers.

Cuts in overtime would produce similar problems, and business would no longer be flexible enough to meet short-term, unexpected orders.

The Federal Government itself has done its homework with regard to earlier retirement, and the figures in the feasibility study speak against it.

According to this study, it must initially be expected that the vacated jobs would not be filled again. At the same time the Old Age Pension Fund would have to pay an additional 700 million Deutschmarks for the 100,000 premature retirees — a daunting thought indeed, considering the financial malaise of the Pension Fund.

The extra school year, on the other hand, is an entirely different story. If this were to be introduced immediately a whole year's supply of young people would unburden the labour market, while at the same time improving the qualifications of our youth.

As a result, neither business nor the political parties are likely to put up much opposition to this proposal. But the cost would not have to be borne by Bonn; this would be borne by the states, and there is no telling whether they are prepared to accept the added burden.

The baby year, too — intended primarily for working mothers — has met with interest. But no one knows exactly where the necessary money is to come from. Every woman who made use of this offer would cost the taxpayer of the unemployment insurance at least DM1,000 per month.

Unemployment will not decline appreciably before 1980, according to a survey conducted by the Standing Conference of Federal Republic Chambers of Commerce and Industry (DIHT).

In the course of the survey 8,871 employers representing roughly half the industrial workforce were asked to state their views on employment prospects.

Between now and the end of the decade employers anticipate an increase in the labour force of 1.2 per cent per annum, meaning that by 1979 the industrial payroll will have increased by 90,000 to 7.6 million.

This virtually corresponds to the number of additional school-leavers born in the post-war baby boom years, whereas 929,000 jobs in industry have disappeared since 1973 alone. So only one in ten of these jobs will be recreated between now and 1980.

If these figures are taken to be an accurate forecast of what lies ahead for the economy as a whole, an additional 350,000 to 400,000 jobs may be created by the end of the decade.

Since unemployment despite seasonal adjustments is still roughly one million

The major prerequisite for the year, namely the labour market, stands little chance of being implemented.

Although Labour Minister Herbert Ehrenberg and the SPD favour such a measure, they are at odds with the DIHT, Minister of the Interior Werner Maihofer. His objection is obvious since he is the chief employer of the civil service. Moreover, Herr Maihofer believes that such a levy would not benefit the state because unemployment insurance would receive no more than it pays out.

Werner Maihofer also opposes the introduction of shared jobs in the civil service although his Ministry is deeply into the idea. In any event the outcome of this issue is still wide open.

The increase of jobs in the civil service sector is a controversial issue within the SPD. Some argue that it is impossible for a party which has many years advocated streamlining administration to suddenly turn around and advocate more civil service jobs.

Chancellor Helmut Schmidt considers the whole discussion within his party damaging. According to him, all the discussion does is to raise hopes which cannot be fulfilled.

Herr Schmidt assumes (and so does Minister of Economic Affairs Hans J. Deichs) that given adequate economic growth, industry will reach its limit of production capacity and will be forced to hire staff.

Herr Friedrichs protested against a "hectic programme inflation on the part of governments, be they Federal, state or municipal."

This was a reference to Labour Minister Ehrenberg who fears that in view of the fact that he is called "Labour Minister" he will be blamed for the situation on the labour market.

And in order not to jeopardise his laurels he earned himself in straightening out the Pension Funds, he let active part in his party's discussion of the labour situation and raised the question of levies in a parliamentary debate without consultation with his fellow Cabinet Members.

The conflicts and controversies are still under control and the parliamentary parties are letting the Government run its time in working out new proposals. But any more bad news from the labour market is bound to kindle the flames of dispute.

(Kleier Nachrichten, 13 May 1977)

## Jobless unlikely to decline before 1980

and the number of job-hunters is going to increase, the trend remains unsatisfactory, the survey concludes.

DIHT business manager Paul Bröcher told journalists in Bonn that the survey clearly indicates how widespread uncertainty about economic prospects remains.

Only one in four of the companies circulated reckoned on the strength of current prospects that they were likely to increase their labour force.

It would nonetheless be wrong to see in terms of fundamental pessimism in industry. Herr Bröcher claimed that demand continues to increase and companies are able to work at normal capacity, three out of four firms, however, would be prepared to take on additional staff.

Hans-Jürgen Mahle (Die Welt, 10 May 1977)

## ■ EUROPE

# Spiralling EEC spending calls for new thrift measures

The EEC Commission is mending its ways with regard to money. While hitherto every individual expenditure disappeared in the big pot, now every new proposal is accompanied by a detailed bill of costs.

The first to feel the pinch were the Ministers of Agriculture. The consequences to the EEC budget of their latest cost increases were rubbed under their noses down to the last penny.

Thus, the Commission criticised the latest price compromise in the agricultural sector. This attempt to bring more clarity into the cost structure is also aimed at revealing a contradiction which is becoming more and more pronounced. While Finance Ministers keep calling for more thrift in the Community's budget, Agriculture Ministers are arriving at decisions that are increasing expenditure by thousands of millions.

With its new modus operandi the Commission is trying to counter the accusation that it spends too much money. The most expensive measures, the Commission argues, are decided in the Council of Ministers, in other words, in that body where responsibility rests with the individual governments.

The new Commissioner Christopher Tugendhat has made it one of his prime tasks to set the record straight. This 40-year old Englishman is the first EEC Commissioner whose main job it is to fix and supervise the Community's budget.

The introduction of this portfolio in the Commission is based on a proposal by the Federal Republic of Germany, which is greatly concerned about the constantly growing German expenditures for the Community. It goes without saying that a budget Commissioner is viewed by Bonn as tantamount to a thrift Commissioner. Bonn's concern is by no means unfounded considering that the Community's budget has risen from DM9,500 million in 1970 to more than DM32,000 million this year.

In most years the EEC budget grew considerably faster than this country's national budget. Not only did EEC expenditures grow disproportionately, but this country's share also grew tremendously, increasing from DM2,000 million to DM8,000 million during the same period.

West Germany is thus financing about one-third of all Community expenditures, although its share in direct subsidies should, theoretically amount to 28 per cent.

But in view of the fact that EEC accounting units are based on the obsolete exchange rates of 1969, Bonn still has to fork out DM366 per accounting unit. The realistic accounting unit of today, however, should amount to DM270 only. This accounting system is due to be reviewed in 1978.

The Federal Republic of Germany's role in financing the EEC has been a bone of contention for some time. The Germans feel that they have to foot virtually all the bills while the others complain about Bonn's showing-off.

Finance Minister Hans Apel's remark about the Germans being the paymasters of Europe rubbed many the wrong way. But as usual, neither side is entirely right or entirely wrong.

It is quite correct that Bonn contributes the lion's share of the EEC budget.

But things look somewhat different if one figures how much the individual citizen has to contribute.

Viewed from this vantage point, the Belgians and the Dutch contribute more than the Germans. Based on the GNP, we would contribute about 33 per cent which roughly equals our contribution.

When dealing with overall figures of the Community's budget we frequently overlook the fact that some of the expenditures flow back into the individual member states. Strictly speaking, the Community budget is a clearing house.

Considerable parts of the various EEC Funds — above all the Agriculture Fund — flow back to the members.

The figures look quite different if this is borne in mind. Thus, for instance, West Germany paid a gross amount of DM6,500 million into EEC coffers in 1975. But the net amount was only DM3,500 million.

In other words, some DM3,000 million reverted to this country in the form of transfers from the Social Affairs, the Regional and the Agriculture Funds. The Community therefore speaks of gross and net payers. Nowadays, many countries receive more from the Community than they pay in.

This applies above all to Britain, Ireland, Denmark and Italy. Net payers are at present the Federal Republic of Ger-

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher sounded an optimistic note at a recent Bundesrat (Senate) session dealing with the necessary legislation for direct elections to the European Parliament.

Herr Genscher said: "Next year, when the first European elections take place, we'll have arrived at the end of a long and thorny path. It took 20 years to fulfil the stipulations of the Treaty of Rome."

There can be no doubt, however, that it will take quite a bit longer since hardly anyone doubts that the spring 1978 election date will not be kept — and that applies to the Foreign Minister as well.

The French will go to the polls in autumn 1978 and it can be taken as a certainty that there will be no campaigning for the European Parliament before then. Britain is still uncertain whether or not to have its MPs elected directly.

And even the Federal Republic of Germany is not quite sure whether the European elections will take place before 1980. In fact, no one is prepared to risk a forecast at this stage.

But despite all these uncertainties, the European elections are gaining in importance on the political front at home. The individual states and the Federal Government are engaged in a tug-of-war about the election system (which will differ from country to country in the first election).

The political parties are trying to forge their alliances on a European scale, to develop joint programmes and to prepare for new (or old) coalitions.

Both the governing SPD/FDP and the opposition CDU/CSU seem to be fascinated by the idea of achieving national objectives sooner and more easily via Europe. As a result Europe has gained a new dimension in the political power game at home.

many, Belgium and Luxembourg.

Another thing rarely mentioned when speaking of EEC costs is the fact that many items in the EEC budget replace items in the national budget. Funds flowing to Brussels frequently save expenditures at home.

A total of DM24,000 million — that is three-quarters of the Community's total expenditures — go into agriculture. Some of this sum is spent on our costly common agriculture policy, but large parts would have to be spent nationally anyway.

The German Farmer's Association are therefore probably the only ones who keep admonishing us to think twice when complaining about the costly Community.

Agriculture apart, the EEC has relatively little financial scope. Through its Funds for Regional and Social Affairs the Community is trying to bring about a more balanced development within its sphere.

The Regional Fund amounts to about 4.5 per cent of the overall budget, and this is not enough to achieve much.

Even so, this is a slender basis on which to bring about a sort of financial equilibrium within the Community. The whole thing rests on the idea that the poorer members should benefit from the EEC investment assistance.

Heinz Stadtmann  
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 May 1977)

## Direct poll — a new dimension in power game

The strongest movement can be discerned in the Opposition camp. Kurt Biedenkopf, the CDU's former Secretary-General, pointed out time and again that the Christian Democrats and the Free Democrats could easily enough achieve a majority in Strasbourg.

The FDP's Martin Bangemann seems to be thinking along the same lines. The SPD has long believed that the latter has been engaged in forging a CDU/FDP Europe axis.

But the fact that the Liberals recently helped the Christian Democrat Colombo to become President in Italy rather than the Socialist Spadolini is not considered indicative (Incidentally, the Italian Communists abstained).

The CDU and CSU find it hard to coalesce with other parties. The European People's Party, which enjoys the support of Biedenkopf, has not attracted the British Conservatives since they do not consider themselves Christian Democrats.

On the other hand, the Belgian and Dutch Christian parties refuse to join with the Conservatives.

The establishment of the European Democratic Union (EDU), which was ushered in by CDU Chairman Franz Josef Strauss, has confused the picture still further.

The EDU is intended to keep moderate parties even beyond the sphere of the European Community as well as groupings which were compromised by the dictatorships in Greece, Spain and Portugal.

As a result, the Christian Democratic

And if we had any community spirit at all no-one would make mock of the fact that the less developed regions are supported by the stronger ones.

Certain changes are envisaged to take place in the Community's budgetary policy in 1978. Apart from customs revenues and levies, which in 1977 amounted to two-thirds of the Community's income, all member nations will from then on transfer a part of their VAT to Brussels. This will enhance the EEC's system of revenues of its own.

In any event it is unlikely that there will be much of a dispute about what is an equitable share of VAT for the Community.

At the same time, the old accounting unit, which has become untenable, is to be replaced by a new 'currency basket'.

It would be fallacious to believe that this would put an end to the EEC's financial problems.

The demand by the Heads of Government that the Community contribute more towards solving its own problems can only be met by the introduction of new measures.

But such measures — especially in the regional sphere and where structural reforms are concerned — are costly.

The envisaged enlargement of the Community by new members is also likely to prove a considerable drain. Unless agriculture policy can be reformed and thoroughly streamlined, considerable increases in spending will be inevitable. Whatever future course Europe takes, the Community is bound to continue.

parties of Italy, Spain, Belgium, Luxembourg and Holland turned down an invitation to Munich as a "matter of principle".

Speaking on behalf of the Social Affairs Committees, Bundestag MP Wolfgang Vogt said that Strauss was weakening the middle-of-the-road forces. He said that if the Christian Democrats were to ally themselves with the Conservatives in a different organisational form they would lose credibility.

Vogt thus voiced thoughts which CDU Chairman Helmut Kohl can only see in the same light. This is borne out by a statement in which he said that if the EDU were to take part in the European elections together with the CDU this would represent the fourth party on a European level and would at the same time be a test case for a fourth party in the Federal Republic of Germany.

This fourth party threat also affects the dispute about the election system. SPD and FDP favour federal election rolls while CDU and CSU and the states governed by them want state rolls. Such state rolls would make it easier to campaign for a fourth party in European elections.

The Christian Democrats in the Bundestag reject federal rolls though they show some signs of being prepared to arrive at a compromise. SPD and FDP, on the other hand, argue that federal rolls are more in keeping with the all-European character of the election.

At present our politicians are tinkering with various compromise models, none of them wanting the elections to founder on this issue.

The SPD, too, is confronted with alliance problems. Thus, for instance, the Federation of Social Democratic Parties, which is shortly to present a joint European platform, has not yet reached

Continued on page 8



# ■ NATURAL RESOURCES

## Water, water everywhere — but purity is the problem



Water was the all-embracing topic of an ambitious exhibition and congress inaugurated at West Berlin's trade fair grounds on 10 May.

Here at the foot of the radio tower that greets visitors to the western half of the divided city as they drive in by autobahn from the GDR through the Grunewald forest along the erstwhile Avus racetrack, H<sub>2</sub>O held sway.

Water is not only a source of life; it is also a raw material, a means of production and a mode of transport. It is both indispensable and versatile.

What is more, it is growing increasingly scarce — a fact that has gained general currency in recent years with the pollution of surface water and burgeoning domestic and industrial consumption.

Last year the United Nations sounded the alarm in a report compiled for the UN conference on water supplies held in Mar del Plata, Argentina, in March.

Water, the UN warned, is likely to grow critically scarce unless decisive improvements are made in the control and husbandry of supplies.

At first glance this warning would seem to be somewhat exaggerated. Seventy per cent of the globe is covered in water, although, in the words of Coleridge's Ancient Mariner, it is "water, water everywhere, and not a drop to drink."

The Earth's total water resources are estimated at 1,400 million cubic kilometres, but only three per cent is fresh water and only about ten per cent of this fresh water is accessible, as it were.

The remainder, ninety per cent, consists of polar and glacial ice, water more than 750 metres underground, or simply steam or clouds in the sky. Approximately 1,000 cubic kilometres is water

embedded in the tissue of living creatures, including the human body.

More and more people and an increasing number of industrial and agricultural enterprises are drawing on a finite resource. Experts estimate that the world's water grid will have to cater for an additional 1,800 million people in the course of the forthcoming decade alone.

The growing scarcity of water was simply demonstrated by last year's long, hot (and dry) summer in Western Europe, but this country does not, as yet, face serious problems where quantity is concerned.

Quality is the problem. Distribution is also proving increasingly problematic. As the UN report noted: "Water invariably seems to be available at the wrong place and time and in the wrong quality."

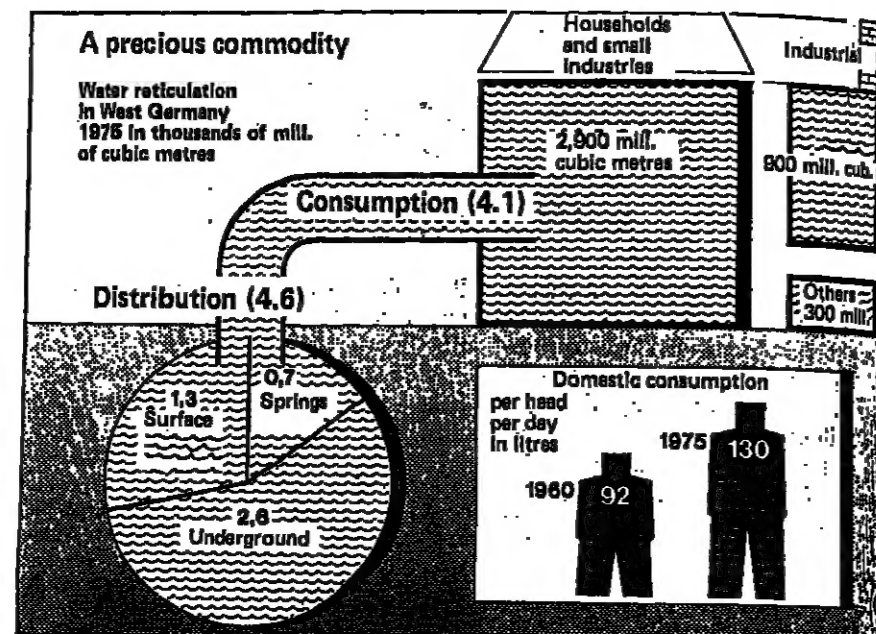
Quality and distribution were the keynotes of *Wasser Berlin '77*, a congress and trade fair attended by roughly 2,000 experts in all sectors of the water industry.

In addition to the congress there was a seminar on the Historical Development of Water Supplies, a conference on water held by the Plumbers and Gas Fitters Association, the annual general meeting of the water section of the Research Chemists Association and an international symposium on ozone and water.

There was also a trade fair at which experts in all sectors of the water industry new developments industry has to offer and an exhibition at which members of the general public could see for themselves what problems water quality and supply present.

Water is certainly big business in this country, with 1975 turnover totalling 5,860 million cubic metres, of which 5,310 cubic metres were delivered to consumers via a network of water mains 1.94 million kilometres long.

These figures apply solely to the public water boards, however. Industrial consumers used supplies of their own



totalling a further 11,700 million cubic metres.

In 1974 per capita domestic consumption amounted to 130 litres of water a day, with this country trailing well behind the league leaders America and Switzerland, which boasted per capita consumption of 440 and 279 litres respectively.

With consumption still on the increase, water boards are having to use more and more surface water. Ground water from underground springs and the water table is no longer anywhere near sufficient to meet demand.

By 1974 a mere sixty per cent of water consumed was ground water and nine per cent came from springs. The remainder consisted of offshore filtered (water taken from near the shores of lakes and banks of rivers and filtrated), ground water with an admixture of surface water, water from reservoirs, and, last not least, water drawn directly from rivers and lakes.

Ground and spring water alone can still be guaranteed to be of sufficient quality. Other sources are problematic, although as long as surface water was not as polluted as it is nowadays natural filtration processes proved adequate.

Water could be allowed to filter through fine-grain sediment, leaving bacteria to make short shrift of organic impurities. The outcome was drinking-water of unimpeachable purity.

Nowadays, however, ever costlier processes need to be undertaken to transform into something drinkable the murky brew that mostly masquerades as water.

Chemicals are added and impurities oxidised. New and complex filtration systems have been devised, using active carbon, for instance, to draw off particularly tiresome chemical compounds and improve the taste and smell of what, by this stage, may fairly be called the product.

Various permutations of all these methods are used, depending on the nature and extent of surface water pollution.

Yet technological progress alone will

not, in the long run, prove sufficient to maintain water quality. The provisions of the Water Resources Act must be toughened substantially.

The authorities are dragging their feet on this issue, however. Last year water boards sounded the alarm when section of the Effluent Levy Bill were further watered down.

Benno Weimann, board spokesman of Gelsenwasser AG, complained that in diluted form the Bill would almost certainly mean that in North Rhine-Westphalia at least water from the Rhine could no longer be used as drinking-water.

Professor Scholder, a member of the advisory committee on environmental affairs, dismissed the proposed levy as a mere nominal charge (a "dog licence," as he put it).

Last year's Water Resources Act also came in for swinging criticism for the water industry.

It remains to be seen whether these two items of legislation will have much effect, but there can be no doubt that economising on water purification increases the cost of drinking-water, quite apart from the serious repercussions of water pollution on flora and fauna.

Sewage and effluent can be treated adequately. The know-how is there, progress in recent years having been substantial. The expense is the problem.

Consumption can also be reduced in many industries, as new production processes demonstrate. An increasing number of installations work on the closed-circuit principle, continually recycling their basic water supply.

In view of the countless organic and anorganic compounds in much of the surface water efforts in all these sectors must be redoubled.

Scientists well know what devastating effects individual substances can have on men and animals. What they do not know, and this is the problem, is the compound effect of a combination of toxins on the human body and the food we eat.

Marion Kent

(Der Tagesspiegel, 8 May 1977)

Continued from page 7

agreement concerning cooperation with the Communists.

German Social Democrats fear that they might be pushed into a dangerous proximity to Eurocommunism via the French Socialists.

But the fact that the Italian and French Communists have so far shown no interest in a European coalition with the Socialists defuses the problem somewhat.

The Federation of Social Democrats would like to ally themselves with the Liberal parties, and this coalition can then be joined on individual issues by anyone who wants to.

There can be no doubt that Bonn is taking the first elections to the European Parliament seriously, but with the date still uncertain the parties are careful not to get off to a premature start.

Udo Bergdoll

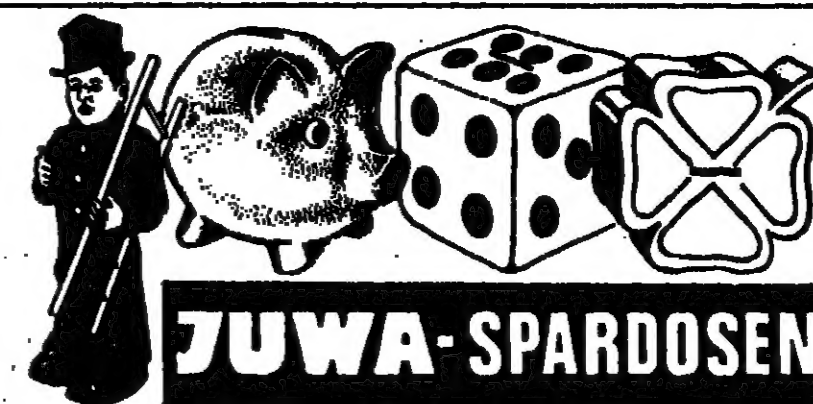
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11 May 1977)



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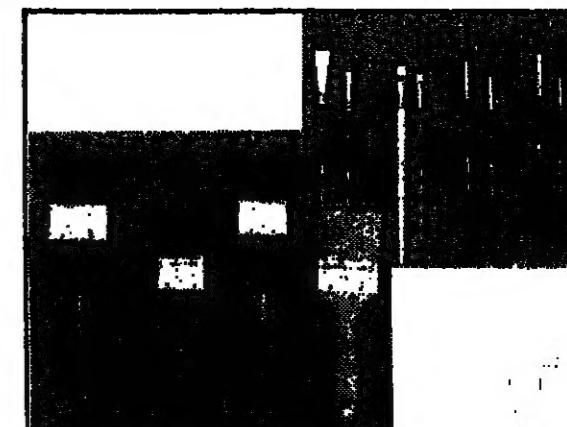
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## ■ LITERATURE

## New vote of confidence for strife-torn PEN Club at Mannheim annual meeting

Following the resignation in swift succession of eighteen PEN club members, some of them well-known writers, Dolf Sternberger and Hans Schwab-Felisch, hon. pres. and vice-president respectively, resigned as committee members prior to the Mannheim annual general meeting. Matters came to a head in this country's branch of the PEN club following the admission of Ernest Mandel, the Belgian Marxist.

Exhausted, but visibly relieved, Walter Jens faced journalists in Mannheim at the end of the West German PEN centre's annual general meeting.

Serious difficulties still lie ahead, he noted, but all things considered, the AGM warranted what he chose to call sceptical optimism.

The committee had good reason to be satisfied with the course of the meeting. There were neither spectacular scenes nor further polarisation between what, for the most part, is a silent conservative majority and a more volatile left wing.

Debate was indeed conducted in a rational and objective fashion with a trend towards solidarity along liberal, middle-of-the-road lines.

The committee could certainly feel gratified, in view of recent turmoil within PEN ranks, that the 150-odd members present voted overwhelmingly in favour of the annual report, with none against and a mere three abstentions.

Professor Jens and his committee came in for their fair share of criticism, but when it came to the division they won an overwhelming vote of confidence.

Given current dissension among writers, the outcome could have been far worse. Much of the credit is due to Walter Jens himself, who proved not only flexible and astute, but also frankly admitted that he had made mistakes in what he had, however, been convinced were PEN's best interest.

So Walter Jens emerged from the AGM with his reputation enhanced, while sixteen PEN club members of long standing, some of them well-known writers, tendered their resignation.

Their decision was widely regretted, but the overwhelming majority of members present — and roughly a third of total membership — felt that the committee were not entirely to blame for allowing a situation of this kind to arise.

The resignations were triggered off by the admission to the PEN club on 28 February of Ernest Mandel, the well-known Trotskyite, regardless of numerous protests.

His name was put forward by philosopher Ernst Bloch, though views may well differ as to whether he ought to belong to the PEN club in this country.

Mandel lives in Belgium and is not a writer in the strict sense of the term. He writes his economic tracts in French and can hardly be expected, as a leader of the Fourth International, to remain true to PEN's overriding tenet of tolerance.

He is, on the other hand, an intellectual who has undergone more than his fair share of persecution.

As a Jew he was imprisoned in Nazi concentration camps. As a Marxist, of Trotskyite persuasion he is a persona

non grata in the East bloc and, for that matter, in many Western countries, including the Federal Republic.

There can be no doubt about it: Ernest Mandel, who is by no stretch of the imagination an advocate of violence or intolerance, is the victim of persecution. So there may well be a sound case for enrolling him as a PEN club member.

PEN is committed to international freedom of opinion and pluralism. The club is neither a professional organisation nor an official body and is thus not bound by government arts policy of whatever kind.

At the same time it is not only a watchdog of intellectual freedom; PEN must also ensure that intellectual freedom prevails at all times within its own ranks.

This, then, is the juncture at which mistakes have been made in the running of the club, albeit not only by the current committee and not just in recent months.

Without a doubt the objections raised by a qualified minority to Ernest Mandel's membership were discussed in detail at a number of committee meetings, but, in the final analysis, they were not deemed sufficiently serious.

Instead of inviting the embittered dissidents to a frank exchange of views to clear the air, the committee preferred to dispense with such an encounter, presumably feeling that there would be no change in majority viewpoints as a result.

The committee had nothing better to say in its own defence than that the lines of communication had been crossed. It would have had no objection to

allowing the dissidents a hearing, but they had failed to come forward.

This was a feeble defence and came in for justified criticism at the Mannheim annual general meeting.

The dissidents and their supporters were accused almost unanimously at Mannheim of having failed to air their views. If they were going to do so, then surely an AGM would have been the appropriate occasion.

The meeting took a dim view of the spectacular way in which the resignations were announced to the Press immediately prior to the AGM. The dissidents clearly bore the committee ill will, and this did not help their cause at all.

In choosing to absent themselves from the Mannheim gathering they did, however, forestall a public clash that would otherwise have proved virtually inevitable.

Yet the admission of Ernest Mandel and such procedural errors as may have been committed in his case were no more than the straw that broke the camel's back.

Left-wingers argued in favour of admitting Mandel on grounds of plural-

ism, but what grounds could they then have had a year ago when they successfully blackballed Hans Maier, the Bavarian Minister of Education?

This move led at the time to the resignation of PEN general secretary Thilo Koch, who was hard-working, but unpopular.

Incidents such as this can hardly be blamed on the current committee. They merely demonstrate that the storm clouds have been gathering in PEN for some time.

A swing to the left wing of the political spectrum first assumed unmistakable proportions at the Dortmund AGM in 1972 when mainly younger, left-wing members called for a more political outlook and scuppered the bid by moderate Social Democrat Thilo Koch to take over the reins of presidency from Heinrich Böll.

A split was prevented only by both sides agreeing on Hermann Kersten as the new president, but escalation between conservatives and left-wingers continued to gain momentum.

Committed left-wingers have increasingly come to speak on the club's behalf, passing one resolution after another. The silent liberal and conservative majority exercised restraint tinged with resignation.

This was probably the greatest mistake made by the group currently known as the dissidents. They were far too late in realising the strength of their own arguments.

They tried to reverse the trend at last year's AGM in Düsseldorf, where Werner Ross and Heinz Friedrich submitted a resolution, couched in unfortunate terms, advocating depoliticisation and a return to literary activities.

This resolution was rejected by a substantial majority, but the rejection in its turn was overruled by the new committee, which resorted to tactics which were, to say the least, opaque during the print workers' strike a year ago.

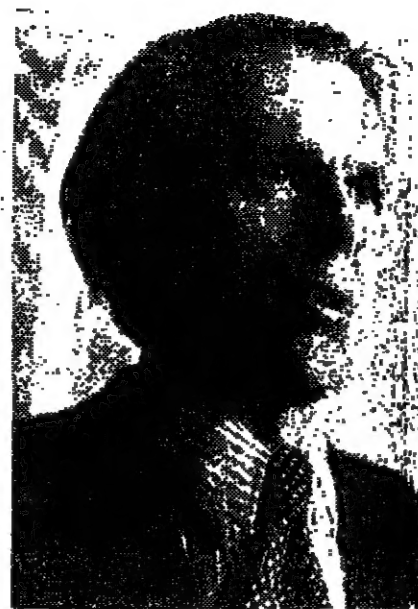
This too led to a wave of protest, culminating in the tension that has led to the latest resignations.

There were several reasons why the current committee can thank its lucky stars it escaped more serious manhandling at Mannheim. Werner Maihofer, Bonn Interior Minister, tendered his resignation voluntarily, so this put paid to a number of resolutions aimed at censuring and even expelling a prominent member of the club.

A number of contributions to the debate were gratifying: even Hans Schwab-Felisch, for instance, tendered his resignation as PEN vice-president in protest at procedural shortcomings in respect of Ernest Mandel, but he did so in a manner exemplary for its urbanity.

It is a great pity that Dolf Sternberger did not similarly explain in person his decision to resign as hon. president. Instead he submitted his resignation in writing and issued a statement to the Press.

Kurt Sontheimer, who had also objected to the admission of Ernest Mandel, did attend the Mannheim meeting, however. He not only explained his viewpoint, but also noted that he was



Walter Jens  
(Photo: Brigitte Friedrich)

not tendering his resignation and would continue to expect a fair hearing within PEN.

The stands taken by Schwab-Felisch and Sontheimer evidently impressed the left-wingers, who responded in a markedly objective and restrained manner.

Can the Mannheim AGM be interpreted as a victory for common sense? It is, perhaps, a little early in the day to make assertions of this kind. The crisis is by no means over.

As long as leading members such as Heinrich Böll, Günter Grass, Walter Höllerer, Siegfried Lenz, Dolf Sternberger and Hermann Kersten remain conspicuous by their absence and the conservative and liberal wings sulk while mediocrity runs riot, PEN's days in its present form may well be numbered.

No one will be interested in attending endless debates on poorly-framed and frequently unjustified resolutions.

Walter Jens is well aware of the fail but his attempt to reiterate the PEN club as one fell swoop has failed for the time being.

A neatly arranged podium discussion held to mark the bicentenary of Schiller's play *Die Räuber* began with first-rate papers by Walter Jens, Heiner Kipphardt and Harry Buckwitz.

Unfortunately, however, it soon degenerated into an exchange of verbal insults, with only Carola Stern courageously and passionately defending this country against allegations of injustice. She well earned her applause.

Literature and politics may be inseparable nowadays, but what the PEN club seems to lack altogether is what might be termed a common viewpoint on its own literary role.

Left-wingers who like to regard themselves as Jacobins are no exception. What serious topics would have been discussed had not the dissidents proved such a welcome issue? The remainder of the agenda could have been dealt with in the course of a brisk morning debate.

It dealt in the main with resolutions concerning PEN's most important role, that of coming to the assistance of persecuted writers all over the world, fighting for improvements in prison conditions and for the release of writers unfairly imprisoned.

This part of the club's work can frequently only be carried out behind the scenes and by dint of hard and detailed work. If alone is very much to PEN's credit, and is sufficient to justify the club's continued existence.

Ivo Frenzel

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 16 May 1977)

## ■ EDUCATION

## Medical students boycott lectures in protest against training shortcomings

Some 20,000 medical students were boycotting their lectures at the beginning of this month. In Aachen, Berlin, Düsseldorf, Frankfurt, Freiburg, Göttingen, Hamburg, Heidelberg, Hornburg/Saar, Cologne, Mainz and Ulm they were protesting with improvised cabaret performances, demonstrations and resolutions against training conditions in the last year (the so-called practical year) of their studies.

Protest demonstrations are also expected in Bavaria and Schleswig-Holstein where the new semester began on 2 May. And many university professors share the students' fear that medical training is threatened by chaos.

In some instances contradictory reforms which have to be implemented simultaneously are aggravating the situation in university clinics.

The regulations governing admission to the medical profession which have been in force since 1970 and are still referred to as the "new" regulations call for a more practical training. But at the same time efforts at reducing costs in the health system have led to a reduction of "planned beds" and beds occupied for a day only in university clinic wards.

As a result, opportunities to train medical students at the patient's bedside have diminished. This is aggravated still further by the fact that the number of medical students is rising.

To cope with this situation, more and more small hospitals have been turned into teaching hospitals. But they are only prepared to accept this new role on condition that they be better staffed and equipped.

This has led to delays in the necessary contracts, and the students are left in limbo.

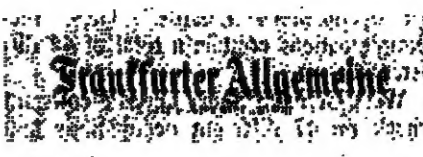
Due to the fact that — although this development was foreseeable — nothing was done to remedy the situation, a great many students feel that this was done intentionally.

In protest rallies throughout the country students have intimidated time and again that they believe that they are pawns in a political chess game. According to them, the one side wants to train as many doctors as possible in order to be able to introduce socialised medicine one day.

This, the students claim, is borne out by the fact that the Hesse University Development Plan envisages that the number of doctors in that State be doubled by the year 2000.

On the other hand the students say, there are those who would like to preserve the privileges and above all the high incomes of the medical profession and who therefore welcome chaos in the training of future doctors because this seemingly proves their argument that the universities churn out too many doctors.

The Vereinigte Deutsche Studentenschaften, VDS, (Confederation of German Student Associations) is also trying to make political capital out of the malaise in the medical training sector. The VDS called upon the students to go on strike.



This organisation is looking for as plausible a pretext as possible to organise strikes in every semester in order to support demands for "free political activities" even in sectors where objective work should, according to the prevailing view, be all that matters — such as in lecture halls and in hospitals.

The students themselves are caught between the devil and the deep since they feel that they can only lend emphasis to their demands by boycotting lectures for as long as possible while at the same time realising that such a prolonged boycott can cost them a whole semester in study time.

The victims would not only be present students, but also those who expect to enroll and begin their studies next semester. There are 70,000 young people on waiting lists for medical schools.

In Frankfurt and in many other cities the so-called practical year for medical students — which, according to the new regulations governing admission to the medical profession, should replace internship — was not introduced until October 1976, in other words, one year too late.

The new regulations were in keeping

with student demands that trainees should no longer be used as "medical assistants" where only their work potential was needed. Instead, the practical year was to serve exclusively as a training year.

Students serving their practical year, however, maintain that they have to do the same work as medical assistants because doctors and nursing staff are over-taxed.

Says one student: "If we refuse to do the work which we are not supposed to do we are snubbed by the doctors and receive no training at all." Most students concur with this statement.

The majority of medical students have no objection to being put to work. As one of them put it: "Am I to tell a patient to take his own blood sample?"

But they criticise the fact that they are only used for menial tasks and not in those capacities in which they can learn most.

Another point of criticism lies in the fact that doctors have insufficient time to supervise the students' work and to engage in discussions. Moreover, the students fail to see why they should do the work of medical assistants without being paid accordingly under the pretext that they are not actually working, but undergoing training.

Only one-third of our medical students receive financial support under the *Studienstipendium-Gesetz*.

## Students feel let down by society

problem of administering the vast number of students.

All this has given rise to deep mistrust by many students — a mistrust which has found its expression in the latest round of boycotts.

The chasm between the universities and society has existed for years and is widening rapidly. Too little attention has been paid to the fundamental changes that have taken place within our universities.

Many students find themselves in an existential limbo which is by no means of a primarily material nature. On the contrary, they feel that their training is out of keeping with the knowledge they want to acquire and the knowledge they will need in their professional lives.

They blame a society which is too much profit and consumption and affluence-oriented.

This feeling is aggravated still further by the fact that many professions have become closed shops as a result of economic conditions today.

But this situation does not apply to universities only; it also applies to our secondary schools and to young people unable to get an apprenticeship, thus pre-programming unemployment and economic slumps.

The consequences of all this are discouragement, fear and aggression. Students withdraw into cocoons, form communes, sects or small cells with a

BAF&G, (Federal Training Promotion Law) averaging DM400 per month. The students have no vacation during their practical year.

This means that they can earn no extra money through odd jobs. As a result, they demand pay to the tune of DM700 per month — net during that period. Medical assistants receive between DM900 and DM1,100 a month.

University professors believe that this material demand is perhaps the easiest to meet. They also believe that initial training difficulties in the practical year can be remedied.

Professor Steinbach, a specialist in sport medicine, said in Frankfurt, speaking on behalf of the Hesse Ministry of Social Affairs and authorised by the Federal Government, that the practical year should not be abolished because the idea is sound.

But this statement did nothing to alleviate the actual problems involved.

Students made mock of him in Frankfurt, asking time and again how he could reconcile cuts in personnel with the demand for more practically oriented training.

The teaching staff at universities fear that tensions will reach their climax in the winter semester when the number of students serving their practical year will increase dramatically.

Frankfurt student spokesmen say that their strike must also be viewed as a precautionary measure. It is also considered alarming that, according to polls carried out by the Allensbach Opinion Research Institute, resignation is most widespread among the medical teaching staff.

Kurt Reumann

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 16 May 1977)

fixed *Weltanschauung* in which our reality is a world of evil. In some of these young people there is a pent-up hate of the "ruling class" which can easily lead to violence.

It would be wrong to condemn all these students, since this would only add fuel to the fire of those who preach violence. These elements are trying to use the shortcomings of our universities in manner reminiscent of Nazi students in the late twenties. But some of the criticism which students level at our society must be taken seriously.

All legal means must be brought to bear against those who preach violence and those who express sympathy with terrorists. There can be no excuse for such action. The problem, however, is that this alone cannot stem the evidently growing aggressiveness of many students and other young people in our society.

We must delve deeper than hitherto into the roots of discontent; and these roots do not lie only in our universities, but also in the gap between them and society as a whole.

We must, above all, prevent the universities from becoming a vast waiting room to which we send our young people because we have nothing else to offer them. Alas, more and more trains are passing these waiting rooms without stopping.

Much will depend on whether or not our new university legislation provides more than an even stricter set of regulations and controls. We must try to make the course of study in all fields meaningful with regard to the future professional lives of today's students and to make it understandable and acceptable to them.

Karsten Plog

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 16 May 1977)



## ■ HEALTH

## List of occupational diseases growing, industrial medicine congress told

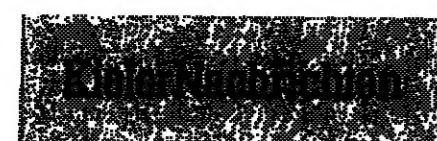
The United States employs Indians — primarily — Iroquois — for construction work at great altitudes because they are capable of moving with the sure-footedness of mountain goats and are entirely free from vertigo.

This is an unusual case of predisposition for a certain occupation, as pointed out by Dr H. L. Martens of the Construction Industry Association, Wuppertal, at the annual congress of the German Society for Industrial Medicine in Kiel. Similar cases of such genetic predisposition are unknown in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Dr Martens stressed that every worker in Germany should be examined as to his aptitude for dangerous occupations if accidents and occupational diseases are to be prevented.

Professor G. Lehnert, Hamburg, the president of the Society, emphasised that the individual assessment of the risks to the working person at his place of work was today one of the foremost tasks of industrial medicine.

He went on to say that one objective of such medical care was the protection of people from occupational diseases. The term "occupational disease" is securely anchored in law in Germany by



means of an official list with 49 "recognised" headings.

But this list is by no means final. New medical insights and changes in the conditions of industrial production are leading to the discovery of ever new occupational diseases or, indeed, to their creation.

Since the first list of recognised occupational diseases was issued in 1952 their number has risen constantly, three having been added in the past five years.

But these diseases are not always to be found in purely industrial occupations. Among the newly-discovered occupational diseases is, for instance, the so-called farmers' lung — a lung ailment resulting from the inhalation of dust containing protein from hay or wheat. This ailment also affects workers in wheat silos.

Dr W. F. Diller of Leverkusen pointed out that the Federal Republic of Germany today ranks near the top in Europe where health precautions at work are concerned.

In 1966, the EEC Commission issued recommendations for the "health supervision of workers exposed to particu-

lar occupational hazards." These recommendations contain a total of 44 different hazards.

West Germany today keeps a constant check on 47 different occupations and the attendant dangers. In Belgium this figure stands at 64, in Italy at 44 and in France at 31, while being non-existent in some other countries, among them Holland.

According to Dr Diller, it is remarkable how many differences there are in the assessment of the various hazards in national lists.

Thus, for instance, West Germany does not yet carry out prophylactic check-ups against acute poisons such as chloride, bromides, iodine etc., although prophylactic measures are called for, as for instance by the replacement of workers who are particularly prone to poisoning by such substances.

But other precautionary measures in this country exceed EEC recommendations, as in the case of vinyl chloride, exposure to laser beams and work under severe conditions of heat or cold. Belgium's list contains even more potentially noxious substances such as zinc, selenium, ozone, hormones, tin and organic ester.

The difference in the assessment of dangers by the various countries of the EEC is considerable. It is still unknown to which extent some of the particularly

active countries go overboard in their prophylactic care while at the same time workers are still inadequately protected against certain hazards at work.

A joint action on the part of the European states seems to be sorely needed in this sector.

One of the dangers of prophylactic medicine in this field lies in the possibility that it might obfuscate the term "disease" as such.

On the one hand, modern medicine and its diagnostic methods have advanced deep into the periphery of clinically recognisable diseases, said Professor Lehnert, while on the other hand it is becoming increasingly difficult for the physician to differentiate between "healthy" and "ill".

Industrial medicine as a whole as physicians in the individual industries should take a more active part in the discussion about the humanisation of work, said Professor Joseph Rutenfranz of Dortmund.

The assessment of risks by industrial medicine, he pointed out, must not ignore psychological problems at work and must make it absolutely clear under which aspects it is prepared to bear the responsibility for specific decisions.

We must shed a certain thoughtlessness in the discussion about the humanisation of work and we must ask ourselves on what type of image of Man such a discussion must be based.

If humanisation is not to become another form of mechanisation, this discussion must not be conducted in an abbreviated form. Professor Rutenfranz pointed out that the individual must be given the maximum of self-realisation opportunities.

(Kleier Nachrichten, 9 May 1977)

## Every 5th hospital doctor is a woman

The number of doctors and nursing staff in our clinics has risen startlingly in the past ten years. We now have 74 per cent more doctors and 90 per cent more nurses and medical orderlies in the Federal Republic of Germany's hospitals than we had in the mid-sixties.

Virtually every fifth hospital doctor is a woman, and half of all clinic doctors are qualified specialists.

A study carried out by the Federal Statistical Office in Wiesbaden indicates that 22 per cent of the specialists are internists, thus making them the largest group.

Close to 17 per cent of our hospital doctors are under thirty. Almost 30 per cent belong to the group of 30 to 35-year olds, while older doctors are rather rare.

A total of 60,700 doctors work in the wards and operating theatres of our 3,500 state, church and private hospitals. There are also more than 207,000 nurses and orderlies.

The midwifery sector shows an interesting development. More and more midwives are being permanently employed and the number of free-lance midwives is diminishing.

Although birth rates are dropping, midwives cannot complain about lack of work. Of the just under 600,000 babies born every year, 99 per cent utter their first cries in the obstetrics ward of a hospital.

The number of hospital ward patients is 10.4 million per annum.

The average hospital stay is 22 days in a regular hospital and 17 days in clinics for acute cases.

Renate Zeis

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 3 May 1977)

## Group therapy — an 'instrument' in psychology

Internal psychological conditions to social interaction.

Psychodrama and encounter group therapy use the opposite road to catharsis. This catharsis results from helpful interaction between group members and from spontaneous action by one or several members of the group.

But "group as an instrument" is as capable of being used by a patient of finding himself as it is of hiding in it.

Anyone who wants to experience himself within the group must not go underground in it. He must try to impose his will on it and display his wishes in order to learn how he is received in it such as he is, says Dr Raoul Schindler, Vienna.

Alice Peters, New York, pointed out that, in many instances, the psychiatrist within a group plays a lesser role than the group itself and that mere acceptance by a group activates the therapeutic process.

According to Dr Michael Ermann, Mannheim, however, we must differentiate between patients who have become outsiders of the group as a result of interaction processes and those for whom loneliness is a result of a disturbed contact ability.

This makes it necessary to employ differing therapeutic techniques. Moreover, Dr Ermann maintains that group leaders must display an attitude which will encourage members of the group to become individuals and thus oppose group conformism.

Therapeutic problems are not only inherent in the patients themselves but

are frequently based in the therapist. The Lindau meeting offered many solutions to this problem — and these included the continuation of existing and the creation of new Balint groups which are more and more proving themselves as the most effective means of therapeutic self-criticism and education.

Cornelia Schlegel, Zurich, stressed that experience in group therapy could not remain without effects on individual therapy, saying: "I experienced how difficult it is for many to recognise and accept that not everybody has the same needs, sentiments and ideas and that other people are simply different."

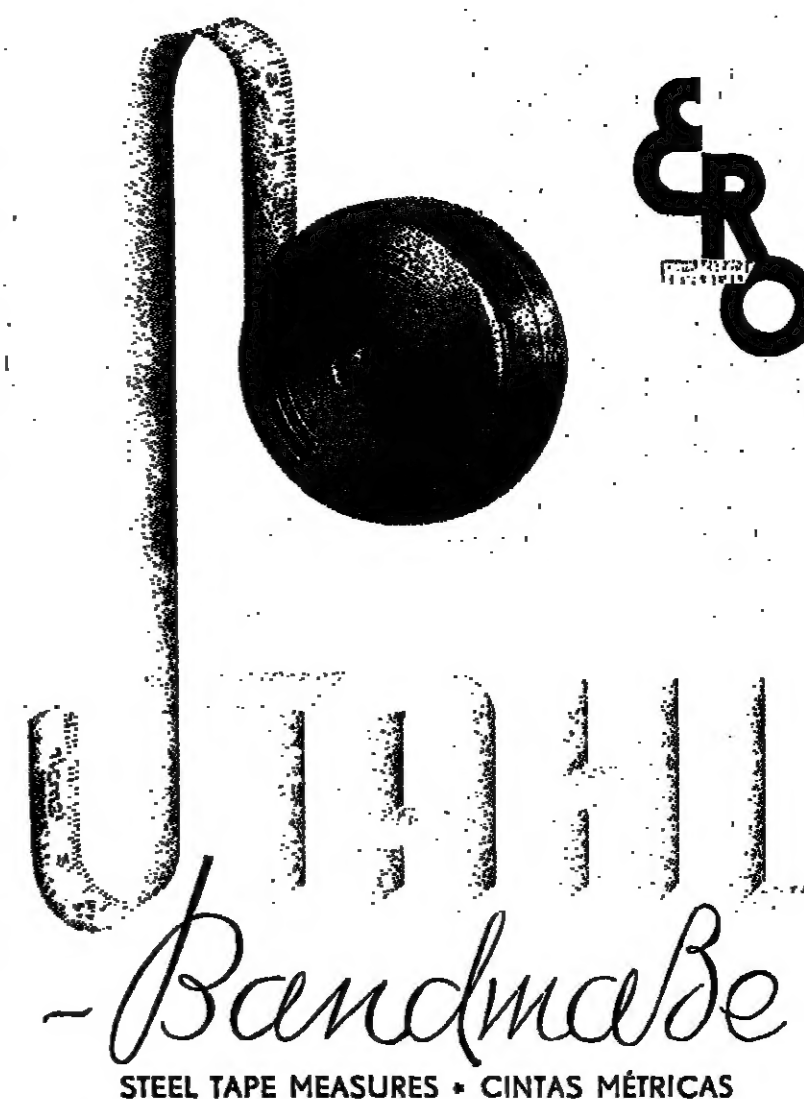
"My group therapy experience enabled me to realise how many neurotic disturbances are linked with a lack of self-responsible autonomy and how rare independent judgments and decisions actually are."

"I also learned how often we either have to adapt ourselves or rebel instead of making independent decisions. The communication rules which are adapted to social learning in groups do not only help me to be open and frank towards others, but also towards myself."

Everybody engaged in healing emotionally ill patients benefited from the open and undogmatic atmosphere at Lindau, from the discussions and the supplementary education to be had there. Although there was ample theory at Lindau, it served as an orientation and an instrument of critical assessment — this year even more so than in previous ones.

The fact that Lindau was dominated by Jungian psychology this year was also evidenced by an exhibition in the old Rathaus encompassing the life and the work of Carl Gustav Jung.

Werner Thurnheim  
(Münchener Merkur, 5 May 1977)



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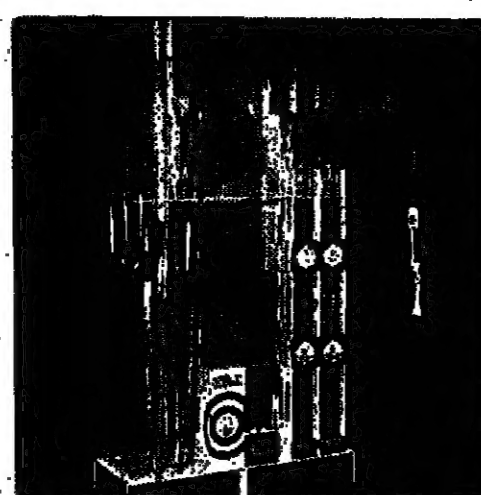
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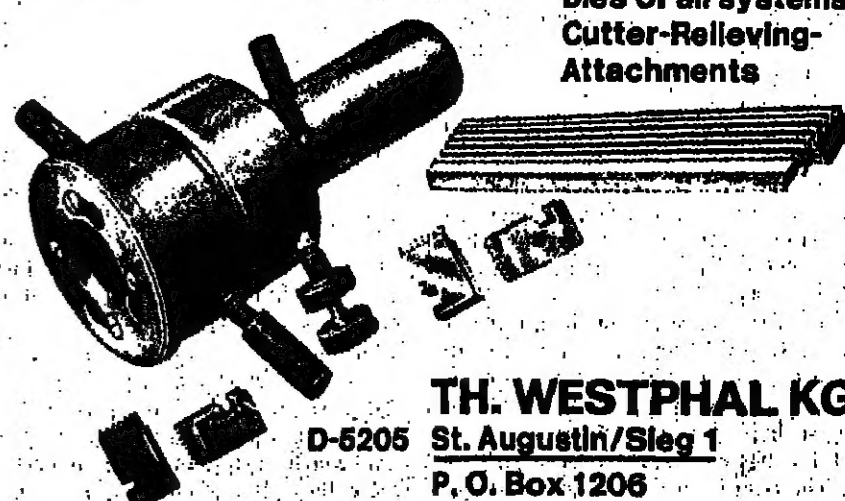
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## OCCUPATIONS

## Rita Maiburg, the only woman airline pilot in the West

Seventeen passengers on Flight 135 from Saarbrücken to Frankfurt relaxed and started browsing through their newspapers. The air hostess switched on her microphone to welcome passengers on board.

"On behalf of our captain, Rita Maiburg, and her crew..." Newspapers were lowered as though by an invisible word of command.

Just a moment, everyone seemed to be thinking. Did I hear right? Did the hostess say we have a woman pilot? She did, but not for long.

The following morning the hostess was reprimanded and told to stick to the time-honoured formula: "On behalf of Captain Maiburg and the crew..."

Yet Rita Maiburg undeniably exists. She is a 25-year-old blonde, is 1.73 metres (five foot six) tall and weighs 62 kilos (137lb). She has long hair and green eyes. She is also the pilot of a DLT turopop Short 3/30 airliner.

Rita Maiburg is the only woman pilot in the West who flies passengers on regular services, but airline managing director Baron Christian von Kallenborn, 46, insists: "Frau Maiburg does her job like all our seventy members of staff. I would prefer her not to be given special mention."

Airline pilots are an all-male fraternity with but two hitherto known exceptions. Maria Atanasova of Bulgaria flies a jet air freighter and Yvonne Sintes of Britain is a pilot with a British charter operator.

But Rita Maiburg is the first woman pilot to captain an airliner on scheduled services. DLT, the domestic airline that employs her, is not so keen to spread the good news, however, and for two good reasons:

— DLT depends on maintaining a working arrangement with Lufthansa.

— Rita Maiburg once sued Lufthansa on grounds of alleged sexual discrimination.

DLT runs services on short-haul domestic routes linking cities such as Bayreuth and Münster where traffic does not warrant the use of full-size airliners. But the airline relies on Lufthansa for ticket sales and baggage facilities.

Rita Maiburg is the daughter of a Bonn architect, and passed her private pilot's licence as soon as she left school. She then trained as a career pilot at a civil aviation college in Mülheim in the Ruhr.

The course cost 38,000 deutschmarks, part of which she borrowed from her father, part from a bank. By 1971 she had passed all the necessary examinations and was prevented from taking up her career solely by her birth certificate. She was still only nineteen and the minimum age for a professional pilot is twenty-one.

So she took an interim job in the control tower at Cologne airport, followed by a spell as co-pilot for a Munich company which folded in 1972 as far as she was concerned because the company then sold its aircraft.

Rita Maiburg signed on for unemployment assistance at Brühl, near Cologne, and remained on the dole for two long years on a pittance of 72 deutschmarks a week.

She was then "discovered" by Barbara Schleich, a Cologne journalist intent on promoting emancipation. With financial and organisational backing from Ms Schleich Rita Maiburg was willingly persuaded to sue Lufthansa for damages on grounds of sexual discrimination.

The argument was that the national airline refused on principle to either train or hire female pilots. The objective was to oblige Lufthansa to do so. Last August the case was finally dismissed.

By this time, however, Rita Maiburg felt far happier, having been hired as a co-pilot by DLT early in 1975. At the end of last year she was promoted to captain.

Her first job was to sew that treasured extra piece of braid onto her uniform.

Captain Rita Maiburg is paid union rates — 2,700 deutschmarks a month gross, or 1,800 marks after tax, of which 300 marks goes towards repaying the bank loan with which she helped to finance her pilot's course.

A Lufthansa pilot is trained at the company's expense and earns a starting salary of 2,850 marks a month at age twenty-one. By the time he reaches Rita Maiburg's age he is a co-pilot earning 4,200 marks a month.

The highest salary Lufthansa pays is the 14,200 marks a month jumbo captains earn.

Yet Rita Maiburg is not complaining.



Rita Maiburg

(Photo: Archiv/Walter Schleich)

Two other West German woman airline pilots have fared far worse.

Elisabeth Frieske was co-pilot of the BAC One-Eleven that crashed near Hamburg on 6 September 1971 with a death toll of twenty-two. After years on the dole Frau Frieske, who is now 38, is co-pilot of a Holstee-Flug Lear jet.

Sigrid Neuhaus was fired when her charter company went bankrupt and was unable to find another job as co-pilot. Not even her best friends now know what has become of her.

In Greven, near Münster, Rita Maiburg rents a three-room apartment costing 280 deutschmarks a month. She drives a green 1972 Volkswagen Beetle.

She has always dreamed of being an airline pilot, but so far the job has not taken her very far. She has flown once to Brindisi and once to Belfast. Otherwise it has just been domestic flights — so far.

Wilhelm Hoffmann  
(Welt am Sonntag, 15 May 1977)

## SPORT

## Financial flop for Hamburg's Open tennis championships

Financially the Hamburg Open tennis championships were not a success. Two thousand fewer spectators attended the country's premier tournament, with 37,000 fans passing through the turnstiles.

So the organisers are again left with no option but to ask Hamburg city council and the Federal Republic Tennis Association to underwrite the debt.

Both put up guarantees of 100,000 DM and look like having to shell out more than last year's 32,000 marks each. The reason could hardly have been simpler: there were not enough big-name crowd-pullers among the competitors.

Guillermo Vilas of Argentina and popular Spaniard Manuel Orantes were the only world-class players to compete. The organisers were relieved to learn that the final shortfall in attendance had been a mere two thousand.

This in its turn was probably due to a changing attendance pattern at the Hamburg Open, which used to be a highlight of the local society season and is now increasingly attended by bona fide tennis fans.

Foreign pundits unanimously agreed that the fans deserved a gesture of respect. Anywhere else, they claimed, the tournament would have played to empty courts.

Paolo Bertolucci of Italy won the men's singles and the crowd did not seem to mind that he is not among the top thirty either in the grand prix ratings or those of the ATP.

Next time round an attempt will be made to reconcile prize money and competitors' status. "The aim of the grand prix super series in 1978 will be

Hanns-Peter Rosellen  
(Welt am Sonntag, 15 May 1977)



Eva's record

West Germany's Eva Wilms, above, has set a new world record in the pentathlon competition for women at Göttingen. She won 4,794 points, thereby breaking the record held since April by former Soviet European women's champion Nadashda Tkachenko by 190 points. Eva Wilms was in record form right from the start. She ran the 100 metres hurdles in 13.5 seconds, threw the shot putt 20.82 metres, cleared 1.74 metres in the high jump, cleared 8.03 metres in the long jump, and finally ran the 800 metre course in 2 minutes 19.7 seconds. Other athletes to turn in excellent results were Karl Flaschen who ran the 3,000 metres in 7 minutes 46.3 seconds, only 1.1 seconds slower than the 1967 German record achieved by Harald Norpoth. Olympic sprinter Annegret Richter recorded the best time for the year so far with 22.6 seconds over 200 metres.

"But the tennis played demonstrated that we were well advised not to do so," says Lutz Abendroth on behalf of the Hamburg organisers. "If the weather had been better, attendance might have reached an all-time high."

If Britain's David Gray of the ILTF is proved right, next year could well prove a record year, since grand prix super series tournaments are to be arranged so as to avoid clashes with other leading competitions.

"There must be no clash with the WCT finals in Dallas, and we must also come to terms with the WTT."

Of the two, World Team Tennis, a US intercity circuit, is the real competitor for star billings, so an arrangement must definitely be reached.

(Die Welt, 17 May 1977)

(Photo: Horst Müller)

Wolfgang Goldenbohm, 47-year-old data security officer at the Ingolstadt, Bavaria, works of Volkswagen's Audi-NSU division, was rung up by his fourth-floor office by a company secretary recently.

"What exactly does your job involve?" she wanted to know. She is not alone in wondering. In many firms both management and staff are still vague as to what the appointment involves, and why it is so important.

As yet there are a mere 500 data security officers attached to companies all over the country. By 1 July Wolfgang Goldenbohm ought legally to be one of a fraternity of ten thousand.

On 1 January 1978 the Data Security Act comes into force and companies are required to appoint security officers from 1 July this year.

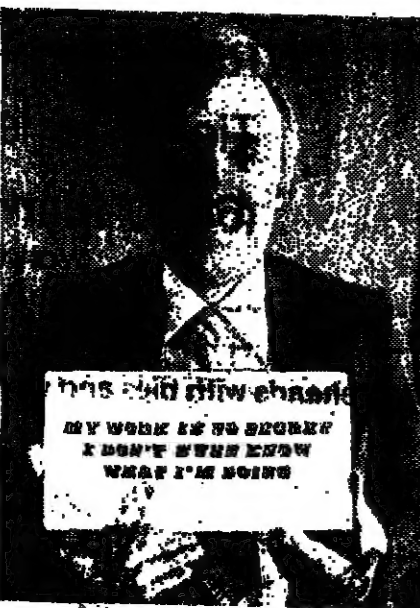
The objective of the exercise is to ensure that computer snoopers are unable to pick the computer's electronic brains and fish confidential information about private individuals or, indeed, company secrets.

So far, however, not even a Federal government officer envisaged by the terms of the Act as supervising data security has been appointed. "Protection of computer-stored personal data," Wolfgang Goldenbohm points out, "is virgin territory."

Reiner von zur Mühlen, board member of a Bonn company specialising in data protection, agrees. "Many companies do not even suspect the existence of any such thing," he admits.

Yet the basic concept is surely dynamic. The overwhelming majority of leading companies in this country have

## The man whose job it is to make sure other people's secrets stay secret



Wolfgang Goldenbohm with a placard that says it all

(Photo: Walter Schmitz)

computerised the vital statistics of their staff. Audi-NSU alone have thousands of millions of facts on file.

The company computer knows, for instance, the exact monthly salary of all 24,000 people on the firm's payroll.

It knows what bonuses they are paid, how much tax they have deducted, where they live, when they were born, what their educational qualifications are,

whether they are married or single, how many children they have, what religious denomination they belong to and whether or not they are in debt.

The computer also knows exactly what the company buys and sells, earnings and expenditure, precise details of its financial dealings, how much it has in stock and the know-how its research and development division has accumulated over the years.

The damage either the individual or the company might sustain if any of this information got into the wrong hands could be incalculable.

Yet computers are much more vulnerable to outside interference than they used to be, provided the snooper is trained to induce the computer to divulge the right information.

Today's computer will print out everything it knows as soon as it receives the appropriate words of command. "If you know your way around a computer system you can fish the entire particulars of an individual member of staff or even entire groups," Wolfgang Goldenbohm says.

Were this state of affairs to be allowed to continue, no confidential particular would be confidential and no company secret would remain a secret any longer. Shades of George Orwell's 1984?

The data security officer's job is to ensure that information stored away in

computers remains inaccessible to all but staff who are authorised to use it.

At Audi-NSU Wolfgang Goldenbohm is busy arranging the final details of a company data security system known as Audi-Dass. It subdivides, as it were, into three sections:

— Organisational security consists of coding forms fed to the computer in such a way as to ensure that only authorised personnel know what the information means.

— Hardware security precautions include walls and armour-plated doors guarding computer installations, not to mention fire precautions and alarm systems. Only authorised personnel can pass through certain doors, for instance.

— Software security involves guarding the tapes on which data are stored. Tapes can, for instance, be fitted out with code words enabling only authorised personnel to put them through their paces.

Data security measures are not only a management can, as a rule, decide on them. So by the terms of the Act data security officers are responsible directly to the management.

The management of companies that use computers will, however, realise that precautions are in their own interests. A computer programme can cost as much as 10,000 deutschmarks to develop, and leading companies may have up to 10,000 programmes in operation, representing an investment of 200 million deutschmarks.

At the provisions of the Data Security Act may well lead to clashes between data security officers and the manage-

Continued on page 15

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